



HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA

THE
TERCENTENARY
HISTORY OF CANADA

FROM CHAMPLAIN TO LAURIER
MDCVIII-MCMVIII

BY
FRANK BASIL TRACY

WITH MANY FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS,
PORTRAITS AND MAPS ESPECIALLY
MADE FOR THIS WORK

VOLUME II



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CHAPTER XXIII

THE EXILE OF THE ACADIANS

THE construction of Halifax and the coming of Cornwallis begin an era in the history of Acadia which ends with the complete pacification of the province through the forcible exile of the French inhabitants. It is an almost uninterrupted story, and for that reason it will be told at this point, although in its telling we are carried several years beyond the period at which we left the other parts of Canada. The coming of Cornwallis marked an era, for he began at once to secure a renewal of the oath of allegiance by the Acadians. Twenty years had gone since this oath was taken, and even then the oath was a slipshod affair, easily made and not difficult to break. Cornwallis reasoned that the new generation ought to be compelled to take an oath which should really mean something. Then arose a tumult which was not stilled until force was resorted to. This tumult was deliberately stirred up by the missionaries and priests of the Church, acting under the counsel of the governor-general of Canada and encouraged by the ministers of the king at Versailles. Not only that, but La Jonquière, who had finally reached Quebec, encouraged the Indians to stir up trouble with the English at Halifax, and settlers were murdered by

The oath-taking

Indians to stir up trouble

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Le Loutre,
agent of
discord

these savages by inspiration from white Christians. The main agency in all the mutinies by the Acadians was Le Loutre, vicar-general of French Acadia, whose power over the Acadians was only matched by his fanatical hatred of the English. This priest, of course, did not come into British territory to exert his wiles, but he encouraged all Acadians he could reach to refuse to take the oath of allegiance and to emigrate to Cape Breton or Canada proper, and he also distributed presents among the Indians, including powder and ball, as a reward of merit for murdering English settlers about Halifax.

All this time France and England were at peace, and the astounding villainy of such action completely destroys any sympathy which fair-minded people might feel for France at this time of her drooping fortunes. The result of this insistence of Cornwallis that an oath be taken, and the urgency of the French priests and the French officers that no oath be taken, was that two years after Cornwallis arrived 2,000 Acadians had left their lands and settled in Cape Breton and Île St. Jean, now Prince Edward Island, and a sorrowful time they had. On the latter island lived one priest, Girard, who while in Acadia refused to attempt to prejudice the farmers against the king or to violate his oath of allegiance.

The murder
of Captain
Howe

One pest spot Cornwallis found was Beaubassin, that post from which Rigaud set out to capture the English at Grand Pré. It was at the head of Chignecto Bay and just across the line dividing the English from the French, but on English soil. From it proceeded all sorts of disturb, both Canadians and Micmacs, and its occupation by the English was determined upon in the spring of 1850.

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Le Loutre was, of course, at hand, and when he saw that the English were sure to take the town he set fire to the parish church and drove or persuaded several Acadians across the river. The English force was insufficient to hold the position and soon retired. The following fall, however, a stronger force was sent, and occupied it permanently. It was then that Captain Edward Howe of the English army was murdered by Indians pretending to carry a flag of truce. Howe spoke French, and was popular with French and Canadians, and his murder was ascribed by English and French alike to Le Loutre's machinations. He denied it, however, as did his brother missionary. In fact the stories about the affair differ widely. While the English were fortifying Beaubassin, Quebec was sending fresh forces and building Fort Beauséjour just opposite. In this latter work the Acadians were used ruthlessly and mercilessly. Such treatment, so opposite to that of the English, ought to have changed their attitude, but their brains were like cabbages, and they continued to slave for the French—miserable and perplexed.

Fort
Beauséjour
built

The next spring came the proclamation of La Jon-
quièrre, governor of Canada, which strips him of
every vestige of neutrality. He demanded that all
Acadians take the oath of fidelity to France and
enroll themselves in the French militia, or be de-
clared rebels. This remarkable proclamation was
never withdrawn or disavowed. It played the mis-
chief with the Acadians, or, rather, it completed
the mischief which Le Loutre had begun. But,
strangely enough, the easy-going English took no
notice of it, and it was not until three years later that
the governor of Nova Scotia, then Lawrence, issued

La
Jonquièrre's
proclama-
tion

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Lawrence's what could hardly be called a counter-proclamation, but had that effect, declaring that Acadians who had taken the oath of fidelity to the king of Great Britain and should be found in arms against him would be regarded as criminals. Meanwhile the poor Acadians at Beauséjour grew weary of laboring for the French and secretly asked the English how they could get back. They were told that they could return if they would take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, it being orally understood that they should not be asked to take up arms at least for the present. Le Loutre at once, from his pulpit, threatened them with excommunication, and scared the poor Jean Baptistes worse than ever. Cornwallis had called him "a good-for-nothing scoundrel," and offered £100 for his head, an offer succeeding English governors were undoubtedly glad to renew.

The
situation
ominous

Fort Beauséjour continued to be strengthened and continued to get aid and supplies from the Acadians on English soil. The situation began to look more and more ominous to the English, especially since the Acadians, who had gone across the line into what we now call New Brunswick and to Île St. Jean, were not satisfied and only hungered to return home. Governor Lawrence, at Halifax, became convinced that only a forward movement could avert a calamity incident upon the attack of the French from Beauséjour upon Acadia. He believed the Acadians would play false to the English and would assist the French in taking the province. The thing to do was to take Beauséjour, the centre of agitation. But he had not enough force to do this. So he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton to

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Boston, that he might present the needs and perils of Acadia to the always belligerent Shirley. Undoubtedly this journey was responsible for the mischief which ultimately came. In fact, the more we search into these Acadian records the more firmly do we come to believe that it was by the persistent urgings of Shirley and other Massachusetts leaders that the Nova Scotian government came to take its final drastic action, although only a few years before, 1746, in answer to the Acadians' appeal to him, Shirley had sworn in a public proclamation that they should not be disturbed. It must be noted that there we are going ahead of our main narrative. By this time, 1755, England and France were practically at war in America, and this expedition against Acadia was but one of the four general movements planned for that year by the English in North America, and the only successful one. The most spectacular was Braddock's against Fort Duquesne, which ended in his overwhelming defeat and death.

Massachusetts raised readily the 2,000 men for this expedition to Acadia. The troops sailed on May 22, 1755, and on June 1st anchored in the Bay of Chignecto. Of this force Monckton was leader, with John Winslow of Massachusetts second in command. The colonial troops were joined by the English regulars from Halifax, and on June 4th the attack began.

Fort Beauséjour was commanded by Duchambon de Vergor, who somewhat shared the responsibility with the irrepressible Le Loutre. Vergor was like many French-Canadian officials—corrupt and easily frightened. Although a captain in the French army, he did very little to prepare for defense

Shirley and
the plot

Beauséjour
taken

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The
cowardly
commander

and when his 160 regulars saw the 2,000 Massachusetts volunteers facing them they lost courage. To help them were about 100 frightened peasants and a few Indians. Louisbourg was appealed to for aid, but sent back word that it was impossible. The English forces began getting their cannon in place and threw into the fort a few shells. A party sent out from the fort to intercept an advance guard of the English was driven back in confusion. The French fired wildly, but seemed safe enough in their stronghold. Fortunately for the English, however, a shell fell into the fort and exploded, killing six French officers and wounding others. Vergor grew panic-stricken and, to the great surprise of the besiegers, raised a white flag over the fort. This led to a parley and at length to surrender. The garrison was allowed to march out with the proverbial honors of war, and was sent to Louisbourg under a promise to bear no arms in America for six months. The Acadians there were adjudged to have been forced into the fight and were allowed to go home unpunished, and loaded with plunder from the fort. The French officers led in the pillage and could hardly be torn away to march out. And so it came about that at seven o'clock on the evening of June 16, whose morning saw a lucky shell fall into Fort Beauséjour, the Union Jack floated from its summit.

Le Loutre
escapes and
leaves
North
America

But where was Le Loutre? That worthy feared he might get his just deserts and fled. He made his way to Quebec, where the chroniclers say he was reprimanded by his bishop, which was a mild form of punishment. Canada did not seem a good field for him, so he decided to return to France. Bad

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luck was now surely after him, for on his voyage he was captured by the English, who kept him a prisoner for eight years on the island of Jersey, almost within sight of home. It would be interesting to learn the reflections of that man as he paced his way back and forth on that island, thought of the life he had led, and learned of the catastrophes that came to the Acadians and to all the French in America.

It is impossible to find any valid excuse for this priest's actions and policy. The only plea ever advanced for him that I have been able to find is that he believed the English were bent on proselytizing the Acadian peasants and destroying their attachment to their church. Little, if any, basis existed for this fear, but it was apparently sufficient, in Le Loutre's mind, together with the conflict over territorial boundaries, to make him a bitter, fierce fanatic, and to involve his people in terrible sufferings and exile.

That word "exile," just used, brings us to a recitation of the specific and gradual steps by which the banishment of the Acadians was then accomplished. If it were possible that any reader of this history were learning from it, for the first time, the story of the exile of the Acadians, one can not help wondering what his feelings would be on coming upon this hint of the approaching expulsion; although a hint has been given before in an indefinite manner. I believe he would be astonished—so utterly unexpected in historical sequence and repugnant to our common ideals of right such an act would seem to him.

But, lest I seem to prejudge the case to any

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reader, let us pass directly to the historical presentation, first going back a little while.

Lawrence
takes away
the Aca-
dians' arms

When Monckton and his forces were on the way to attack Beauséjour, Governor Lawrence determined to seize the occasion to deprive the Acadians of their arms. He did this by strategy, and got hold of several hundred muskets. Exactly why he did this and the things which follow we can not at this distance know. It is necessary from this point onward to proceed very carefully, that we may do no injustice either to this man or the Acadians. It is probable that he feared that these Acadians might use their arms to assist the French in the coming or present siege of Beauséjour. That was a justifiable fear according to the way he believed they had hitherto acted. At any rate he got the muskets. It is significant to quote Haliburton at this point, for he was one of the earliest English authors who dealt with this episode. Regarding Lawrence's demand for these muskets, he says: "These orders were complied with in a manner which might certainly have convinced the government that they had no serious intention of any insurrection."

Haliburton
quoted

We know that at the siege of Beauséjour a few Acadians were found fighting with the French, but they were adjudged by the English as having been forced into this service. While at Beauséjour, Lieutenant-Colonel John Winslow of Massachusetts wrote, in a letter home, that he was glad to hear that expulsion had been determined upon.

A short time after the capture of Beauséjour deputies from the districts of Grand Pré and the Mines Basin, from which the arms had been taken, came

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before the governor and presented a petition asking that the arms be returned. This petition recited that these muskets were necessary, that without them wild beasts roaming about were perils to life and to their property. It recited other circumstances of their unfortunate condition, and asked that they again be allowed to use their canoes for trading—a prohibition caused by the charge that some of them had taken supplies to the French in that way. Parkman and English historians assert that this memorial was offensive to the governor and his council, and imply that the deputies were insolent in their demands. I confess I can not see any insolence in this memorial. Here it is as translated from the archives of Nova Scotia, and as this memorial was the direct cause of the deportation it is worthy the examination of every student of history and lover of fair play:

The
Acadians'
demand for
their arms

Direct
cause of
the
deportation

"To His Excellency, Charles Lawrence, Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia or Acadia, etc., etc.

"SIR—We, the inhabitants of Mines, Pigiguit, and the River Canard, take the liberty of approaching your Excellency for the purpose of testifying our sense of the care which the Government exercises over us.

"It appears, sir, that your Excellency doubts the sincerity with which we have promised to be faithful to his Britannic Majesty.

"We most humbly beg your Excellency to consider our past conduct. You will see that, very far from violating the oath we have taken, we have maintained it in its entirety, in spite of the solicitations and the dreadful threats of another power. We still entertain, sir, the same pure and sincere disposition to prove, under any circumstances, our unshaken fidelity to his Majesty, provided that his Majesty shall allow us the same liberty that he has granted us. We earnestly beg your Excel-

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Text
of the
memorial

lency to have the goodness to inform us of his Majesty's intentions on this subject, and to give us assurances on his part.

"Permit us, if you please, sir, to make known the annoying circumstances in which we are placed, to the prejudice of the tranquillity we ought to enjoy. Under pretext that we are transporting our corn or other provisions to Beauséjour and the River St. John, we are no longer permitted to carry the least quantity of corn by water from one place to another. We beg your Excellency to be assured that we have never transported provisions to Beauséjour or to the River St. John. If some refugee inhabitants from Beauséjour have been seized with cattle, we are not, on that account, by any means guilty, inasmuch as the cattle belonged to them as private individuals, and they were driving them to their respective habitations. As to ourselves, sir, we have never offended in that respect; consequently, we ought not, in our opinion, to be punished; on the contrary, we hope that your Excellency will be pleased to restore to us the same liberty that we enjoyed formerly, in giving us the use of our canoes, either to transport our provisions from one river to another, or for the purpose of fishing; thereby providing for our livelihood. This permission has never been taken from us except at the present time. We hope, sir, that you will be pleased to restore it, specially in consideration of the number of poor inhabitants, who would be very glad to support their families with the fish that they would be able to catch. Moreover, our guns, which we regard as our own personal property, have been taken from us, notwithstanding the fact that they are absolutely necessary to us, either to defend our cattle, which are attacked by the wild beasts, or for the protection of our children and of ourselves. Any inhabitant who may have his oxen in the woods, and who may need them for purposes of labor, would not dare to expose himself in going for them without being prepared to defend himself. It is certain, sir, that since the Indians have ceased frequenting our parts, the wild beasts have greatly increased, and that our cattle are devoured by them almost every day. Besides, the arms which have

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been taken from us are but a feeble guarantee of our fidelity. It is not the gun which an inhabitant possesses that will induce him to revolt, nor the privation of the same gun that will make him more faithful; but his conscience alone must induce him to maintain his oath. An order has appeared in your Excellency's name, given at Fort Edward, June 4, 1755, by which we are commanded to carry guns, pistols, etc., etc., to Fort Edward. It appears to us, sir, that it would be dangerous for us to execute that order before representing to you the danger to which this order exposes us. The Indians may come and threaten and plunder us, reproaching us for having furnished arms to kill them. We hope, sir, that you will be pleased, on the contrary, to order that those taken from us be restored to us. By so doing you will afford us the means of preserving both ourselves and our cattle.

"In the last place, we are grieved, sir, at seeing ourselves declared guilty without being aware of having disobeyed. One of our inhabitants of the River Canard, named Pierre Melancon, was seized and arrested in charge of his boat before having heard any order forbidding that sort of transport. We beg your Excellency, on this subject, to have the goodness to make known to us your good pleasure before confiscating our property and considering us in fault. This is the favor we expect from your Excellency's kindness, and we hope you will do us the justice to believe that, very far from violating our promises, we will maintain them, assuring you that we are very respectfully,

"Sir, your very humble and obedient servants."

This protest is dignified and firm, and has within it a vein of indignation. It may have been full of falsehoods, but its terms are respectful and devoid of offense, except to those who were seeking offense. Governor Lawrence and his council really seem to belong to the latter class. The governor lost his head, and replied to the memorial with hot words; he declared that they had not been faithful subjects,

The
governor
furious

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but traitors, and he concluded his lashing of them with a demand that they all take the oath of allegiance. They flatly refused to do this, inasmuch as they had not come there for that purpose. The matter was discussed again and again, and still the deputies refused until Lawrence in a rage declared they were no longer British subjects, but enemies. Then they grew frightened and offered to take the oath. Lawrence told them that they were too late. But he demanded that they go home and send other deputies who should get the sense of the people on the matter of taking the oath and come to him. That seemed a fair proposition. It was done, and these deputies, clearly representing nine-tenths of the Acadians of the peninsula, deliberately refused to take the oath.

The die
is cast

WHY THEY WOULD NOT TAKE THE OATH

WHY did they not take the oath? That is the first question which occurs to every one. The answer is difficult. To-day taking oaths is sweet pleasure, since one may perjure himself like a gentleman, and no one even frowns. But these simple Acadians did not want to take an oath only to break it. The old oath was accompanied by an agreement, sometimes oral, sometimes written, that they should not be compelled to bear arms. This oath had no such provision, and in addition to the word "fidelity" it contained the word "allegiance," which the Acadians thought meant something more. Now Lawrence thought, or affected to think, that their hesitation resulted from disloyalty. I am not convinced. These Acadians were very like the habitants of Quebec to-day. They felt no warmth for Great Britain, to

A distressed
mental
condition

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be sure, but they were not loyal to France either. They were loyal to themselves, and they wanted, most of all, to be let alone. Their religion drew them toward France, but that force was not strong enough to make them commit overt acts of disloyalty to the crown. But Lawrence had persuaded himself that these cabbage-headed peasants were going to take arms against the English and aid the French invaders. He knew that the great conflict was coming on, in which no neutrals could be permitted, and he believed that if Great Britain had secret enemies in Acadia it might mean a fearful catastrophe to British arms when the real warfare was on. That sounds like good argument, but there are some evidences that it was not. If it had been made when the French were moving toward Acadia it might have been well, but to make it after a great English victory, after the chief disturber, Le Loutre, had fled the country, and even Louisbourg was affrighted, seems to be the act of an unwise or panic-stricken man. And there is little doubt that the refusal of the Acadians to take the oath was due to the fact that they distrusted and feared, not Great Britain, but the governor. It is true, for six years, they had been asked to take that oath, and yet Lawrence's predecessor, Hopson, had not insisted upon it, but had by waiving it become very popular with them. Had his health not broken down the horrible sequence would probably never have occurred. Certain it is that now was not the time for such arbitrary measures. British rule has often been too mild. If the British authorities in Acadia had from the very first insisted upon a strict oath, they would have had plenty of trouble, but it would

Lawrence's
reasons

An *ex post*
facto act

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A cloud
upon Great
Britain

have paid tenfold in the long run. But, just as Gladstone did in South Africa, and the United States in the Philippines, they compromised, and that action left its legacy of misery to the Acadians and a cloud upon Great Britain.

THE ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON

THIS isn't to say that the situation was not difficult. It *was* difficult and perplexing. It isn't pleasant to be ruling a country, once under another sovereign, which you suspect of being more loyal to the former than to the present power. It makes one restless at night. But the situation in Acadia was no more difficult than it had been, and in fact it was really easier. Indeed, the fall of Beauséjour ought to have shown Lawrence that the best policy was to bear with the Acadians until he could afford to be independent of them. The argument that he could not hold Beauséjour because the New Englanders would soon be going home, and then the French would swarm upon the country, is not good, although Parkman and other historians use it. Those New Englanders would have stayed a year if need were, and Lawrence could have got enough aid from England to hold the fort. Besides, French power in that district was clearly shattered.

Expulsion
a non
sequitur

Yet, granting all these arguments for argument's sake—grant that the Acadians were not loyal, and might, or even would, assist the enemy in case of war—expulsion was a terrible blunder, a frightful *non sequitur*. It was not an alternative. It was foreign to the worst type of barbarism which English-speaking peoples practised in those days. The poor Acadians declared again and again, when Corn-

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wallis was governor, that they had asked permission to leave because they would not take the oath, and he had refused to let them go (and the Lords of Trade of England admitted it). Now they were to be driven out. It was not only a mistake, but a confession of brutality or incompetency. Lawrence could not handle his people. He was not able to solve his problem. Instead of trying to do it, he turned tail and, resorting to strategy, got these unsuspecting people into stockades and then drove them from the country. Deportation is justifiable only in actual warfare and in great crises. Nothing of the sort was present. Lawrence had blundered into a false position. Now he was going to make it infinitely worse by carrying out his threat. They ought certainly to have taken the oath, but their wrong did not excuse his greater wrong.

Where did he get his orders? Nowhere. It is hinted in contemporaneous documents that Governor Shirley of Massachusetts first suggested deportation to Lawrence. If so, he must bear a heavy onus. But so far as authorization is concerned a sentence from a despatch from the Lords of Trade to the effect that the Acadians should have no title to their land if they did not take the oath was Lawrence's only warrant. Yet even the Lords never dreamed of sending these poor people out upon the world in such a heartless manner. That Lawrence feared that he couldn't get their authority is evidenced by the fact that, although in the three months from the time of the ordering of deportation until it was completed, he sent several despatches to England, in none of them did he tell definitely what was in his mind. Yet he was shrewd enough to know

When
deportation
is justifiable

The
English
govern-
ment did not
authorize it

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Lawrence
simply
blundered

that the thing once done Great Britain would never disavow it. And it saddens all lovers of Great Britain to find that she did not disavow it. On the whole, I prefer to believe that Lawrence simply blundered into this terrible wrong. I do not accept the Acadian explanation that he deliberately planned the whole thing in order to profit by the cattle and lands of the exiles. Rough, hasty, cruel, and blundering as he was, I do not believe he was a monster.

THE ACT OF EXPULSION

Winslow's
half-
heard
speech

THE story of what followed upon Lawrence's decision is not a pleasant one, and it shall be told as briefly as possible with none of the heartrending details. Orders were sent to Monckton at Beauséjour, to "round up" those Acadians near there, and to John Winslow and Murray to grab the remainder. Winslow was at Beauséjour when the order came, and he proceeded at once to Grand Pré. The task before him was one that he did not seek. Murray was to corral the human cattle about Fort Edward. The first thing Winslow did was to build a stockade. After a survey of the region, he sent out a summons to the inhabitants to appear at the Grand Pré Church on September 5. The poor fellows who did not know any better than to obey came in to the number of 418 men. When he got them in the church he made them his speech in this wise:

"GENTLEMEN—I have received from his Excellency, Governor Lawrence, the king's instructions, which I have in my hand. By his orders you are called together to hear his Majesty's final resolution concerning the

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French inhabitants of this his province of Nova Scotia, Winslow
who for almost half a century have had more indulgence pronounces
granted them than any of his subjects in any part of his the doom of
dominions. What use you have made of it y yourselves Grand Pre
best know.

"The duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species. But it is not my business to animadvert on the orders I have received, but to obey them; and, therefore, without hesitation I shall deliver to you his Majesty's instructions and commands, which are that your lands and tenements and cattle and live stock of all kinds are forfeited to the crown, with all your other effects, except money and household goods, and that you yourselves are to be removed from this his province.

"The peremptory orders of his Majesty are that all the French inhabitants of these districts be removed; and through his Majesty's goodness I am directed to allow you the liberty of carrying with you your money and as many of your household goods as you can take without overloading the vessels you go in. I shall do everything in my power that all these goods be secured to you, and that you be not molested in carrying them away, and also that whole families shall go in the same vessel, so that this removal, which I am sensible must give you a great deal of trouble, may be made as easy as his Majesty's service will admit; and I hope that in whatever part of the world your lot may fall you may be faithful subjects, and a peaceable and happy people.

"I must also inform you that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security under the inspection and direction of the troops that I have the honor to command."

The prisoners were thunderstruck, but did not then, or for some time afterward, believe he meant what he said. They were, moreover, peaceful and gave Winslow little trouble, except at heart, where indeed he was ill. Similar scenes were going on in the other parts of the peninsula, except that in some

Prisoners
give little
trouble

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Driven on
board at the
point of the
bayonet

cases the Acadians escaped in considerable numbers. In a few days Winslow had five hundred prisoners, and only three hundred men to guard them. In less than a week, however, he got them into three transports that had come from Boston. The men at first refused to go, thinking they were to be separated from their families, but at the point of the bayonet they yielded and went on board. Winslow put them thus out of the way, fearing they might rise. The ox-like, innocent character of these people could not be better seen than in this docility. Had they been dogs they could not have acted better. But, with these men must go their families, and these could not be sent until more transports arrived. These were delayed, and much wretchedness ensued. It was not until October 8 that the first embarkation actually took place at Grand Pré. That was a sad scene—women wailing, children crying, and men torn with sorrow and anger. There was great confusion too, and the harsh commands of the officers did not soften the noises. Winslow did better than any other commander, his last load going in late December, bringing up his total to more than 2,100 men. The whole number thus shipped out from Acadia was about 6,000. Their houses and barns were burned, and Acadia was depopulated.

Sad scenes
at the em-
barkation

But now that they were on board the transports; what was to become of them, where were they to go? To Cape Breton, or to Canada? By no means. There they would be aids of the French cause. To Maine? That would have been reasonable, but it seems never to have occurred to Governor Lawrence. No, they were to be distributed along the coast, from Massachusetts to Georgia—saddled upon

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the inhabitants. Were the colonies forewarned? Massachusetts alone knew
Not at all. With the exception of Massachusetts, none of them knew of this burden until the boats actually anchored in the harbors.

THE SUFFERING OF THE EXILES

How did these communities act? Very badly indeed, yet quite naturally. They acted as all communities act when helpless people *en bloc* are thrust upon them. Every town tries to shoulder its poor upon its neighbor. Boston knew the Acadians were coming, and yet treated them very ungenerously. The old Puritan prejudice against Papists operated to prevent many of the Bostonians from opening their homes. At Philadelphia there was great distress, grief, and suffering among the Acadians. Over one-third of them died before they were distributed among the people. The sorrow and misery these poor people endured when their families were separated on landing would have pierced a heart of stone. They fancied they had lost their religion in going among these blasphemers, and all they had left was their families. Now these were to be broken up. The last tie was gone. Wo, utter wo, was their lot. The same wretched condition prevailed in all places to which they were sent, except in Louisiana, where they were happily placed and grew into a prosperous colony. A few secretly made their way back to Acadia, where they were not disturbed. Some who had been landed in South Carolina made their way back as far as Boston, and then sent a memorial to Lawrence asking to be allowed to return, but he refused. Others escaped to Quebec, and some o.

Only in
Louisiana
were they
happy

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they were well treated and others robbed by the Intendant Bigot and his creatures.

Inhuman
conduct

How any man could have justified himself in such inhuman conduct it is difficult for me to see. Yet it is more difficult to see how any candid student who becomes possessed of all the facts can for a moment excuse Lawrence's act. So far as he is concerned, he was not long allowed to enjoy his power.

He died suddenly in 1760 after a ball given in honor of the capitulation of Montreal. At that time there was much dissatisfaction with his official conduct, and rumors of ugly charges against him. The Lords of Trade, in their report issued after his death, plainly hinted at charges and an investigation.

The case can be put carefully but sufficiently in a few words. Forcible deportation is the last resort in warfare, and then only against a fierce and dangerous people openly in revolt and at a time of great peril. There was no such crisis, no such peril; and the people were mild and gentle, and were not in revolt. The crisis, as a matter of fact, was past, and better days were coming surely. The exile of the Acadians was not only unnecessary. It was cruel, and a disgrace to those responsible.

Haliburton
on the
expulsion

Judge Haliburton's verdict on the expulsion, published in 1829, is valuable and significant, as his was the view of an English author sometimes quoted in favor of the expulsion.

"Upon an impartial review of the transactions of the period, it must be admitted that the transportation of the Acadians to distant colonies, with all the marks of ignominy and guilt peculiar to

THE EXILE OF THE ACADIANS

convicts, was cruel; and although such a conclusion could not then be drawn, yet subsequent events have disclosed that their expulsion was unnecessary."

Haliburton also points out that there is absolutely no record in the archives at Halifax of the deportation, and suggests that the account was omitted or destroyed because of a sense of shame.

It is peculiar that most readers have received their impressions of that great and sad event from two men, one a historian, the other a poet, living and working within the same city. Neither of these pictures can we accept as true, but our heads as well as our hearts must award the merit of the greater accuracy not to the great historian, but to the good poet.

Longfellow
and
Parkman

THE LESSON OF IT ALL

THERE is just one word more to be said on the whole matter. It is the peril of the ignorant. In these days when we hear so much nonsense about the simple life, it is well to look at these Acadians as perfect products of that theory of existence. The Acadians were simple—certainly they were. Their lives did glide along like streams that watered the woodland, darkened by shadows of earth, but reflecting an image of heaven. But in that simplicity lay their danger. That simplicity meant ignorance, wooly-headed credulity, and dazed perceptions. They had no brains. They were, mentally, cabbages or any other vegetables you please. Now that is a sweet, pleasant state if all about one is well. But when peril threatens, when danger

The
nonsense of
"the simple
life"

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The world
no place for
simple
people

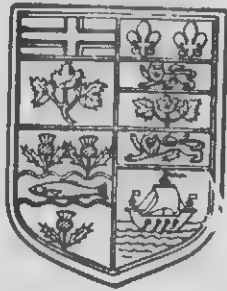
is near, then the defense of this simplicity falls away, leaving one naked to one's enemies. The world of trial, of strife and pain, is no place for simple people, and that world is, after all, the only world that produces character or anything else worth while. Every time such a people rises in history, its fate is to be gobbled up by a stronger, strenuous power. It needs brains to make one's way in the world. The lack of them was the vital defect of the Acadian character. Had they possessed brains they would never have endured either the machinations of the French priests or the bulldozing of Lawrence. The one they would have refused to countenance and the other they would have defied to his face. To be sure, if they had had brains they would have taken the oath and been free men.

Not Great
Britain's
act

Many Canadians and Englishmen, especially from the Maritime Provinces, are prone to assume that any one who denounces the expulsion of the Acadians arrays himself as a critic of Great Britain. This is not logical or in accord with the facts. Expulsion was the act of one man, Lawrence, probably inspired by Shirley, and the British government had no sure knowledge that it was contemplated until it was too late to countermand it. Disavowal was the right action to have taken, but Great Britain was practically at war with France and it was too much to expect Great Britain or any other government of that age to disavow this act, especially since, as we shall see in the coming chapters, the Acadian campaign was the only one of the four undertaken that year in America that was successful. It was the year of Braddock's defeat on the

THE EXILE OF THE ACADIANS

Monongahela and of British defeats in India and elsewhere. Yet the Acadian campaign was really the worst defeat of all, and fair-minded men to-day, no matter where they live, should agree in this judgment.



CHAPTER XXIV

THE PERIL TO FRANCE IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

AT the opening of the preceding chapter I warned my readers that I should carry them far in advance of the times. That has been done, yet no violation to the continuity of our story has been involved. The events of these years, closing with the expulsion of the Acadians, bore the smallest relation to the other events of the period in America. This was an isolated event, a separate story from all else. It is not, therefore, difficult to resume the narration of Canadian events at the period about 1750, where we left it.

La Jonquière, whom we remember as leading the forlorn hope of the attack upon Acadia and Annapolis, was then prevented from reaching Canada, of which he had been appointed governor-general. He was placed in command of a second expedition to retake Louisbourg and Annapolis, and was then captured by the English in a fight which completely annihilated the French fleet. While he was in prison, the Marquis de la Gallisonière ruled in his stead.

A new problem was now before the Canadian Government, the most serious of all it had been compelled to face since the days of Champlain. Before this time its only fears had been from In-

THE PERIL TO FRANCE IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

dians and the English to the south. Now the great West was being invaded, the mighty movement of settlement was on foot which was destined to end only by making the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys the most powerful political and economic unit in North America. We have seen how truly provincial had been the English colonists. There was almost no roving spirit among them. For over a century they were content to stay at home and till their fields and let the rest of the world alone, while French explorers were traversing the mighty forests and rivers of that great West, and claiming it all for France and the Church. But now, in the middle of the century, it became evident that a change was coming. France had failed to fill out the vast spaces left in La Salle's grand scheme. Had France put into that great Mississippi River region not only numerous posts well defended, but strong and flourishing settlements of Frenchmen, as La Salle demanded, New France might not only have been saved, but might have been a great power, splitting the present United States in half. But such a condition implies so many others wholly impossible that it need not be entertained. The fact was that, aside from the forts on the Illinois and Detroit, and a few puny settlements here and there, there were no French forts guarding the whole Middle West, as Americans call it to-day. Hence there was no barrier to oppose the new and mighty expansion westward of the colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania. At the middle of that century the movement was more a tendency than a fact, but its menace and earnest were none the less distinct and significant. These Virginians and Penn-

The
English
beginning
to move
west

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

sylvanians were not only traders who got the red-ski & furs, but they were land speculators, whose successors were sure to be the American settler with his musket and plow. To learn to what extent this menace was becoming fact, La Gallisonière sent into the Ohio Valley Celoron de Bienville on his famous expedition in 1749.

AN EXPEDITION TO ASSERT FRENCH POWER

Celoron
goes into
the Ohio
country,
1749

It was a rather formidable body which left Lachine on the 15th of June. It took 23 canoes to contain the officers, soldiers, and Canadians, about 200 in all, besides a party of Indians. They went via Fort Frontenac, Niagara, Lake Erie, and Lake Chautauqua, and it was July 29 when they reached "La Belle Rivière," as they called what was indeed the Allegheny. At that point Celoron did what all other French explorers had done—he took possession of the country in the name of the king. He then descended the river. All along the way they came across Indian villages, and twice they saw English traders, whom they ordered to leave, but who, despite their promises, stayed. The confluence of the Allegheny and the Monongahela was reached, and the party proceeded on its way down the Ohio. They found hundreds of Indian villages along the banks and many English traders. In vain Celoron gave the Indians presents, and told them what a great force France would send into the country if they did not banish the English. He got little satisfaction. When he reached the mouth of the Miami he ascended it. His luck with the Indians of that river was no better, and when he reached the little French post on the Maumee, he

Discour-
aging for
the French

THE PERIL TO FRANCE IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

was a very much disgusted and disheartened man. It was November by the time he reached Montreal, and his report was most alarming.

Meanwhile more menacing conditions were arising. The Ohio Company was formed, composed of leading Virginians and some London merchants, to which the king made a grant of 500,000 acres in the Ohio country on condition that 100 families be settled there within seven years and a fort built and maintained. The next spring after Bienville's expedition, Christopher Gist, a Virginia trader, was sent out to explore the land. His reception was just the opposite to Bienville's. Nearly all the tribes were glad to see him. Only the Delawares remembered the Iroquois, and were kept dour toward the English because the lovely Pennsylvanians told them that the Virginians meant to steal their land.

Another French expedition was that of the Sulpitian Father Piquet, who had a mission on the St. Lawrence at Ogdensburg, which he called La Présentation. He made the entire circuit of Lake Ontario, and all that he saw confirmed the faithfulness of the Indians of that region. Only Niagara must be kept in French hands to hold back the English horde from the south.

It was now 1751, and La Jonquière, having got out of prison, had become governor at Quebec. So La Gallisonière returned to France, and a few years later took part in one of the memorable sea fights of all history, Minorca—memorable not so much for the fight itself as for the outcome, which was the courtmartialing and execution of Admiral Byng, whom La Gallisonière defeated. Poor La Jonquière did not last long as governor. It was hardly worth

English
from the
Ohio
Company

La
Jonquière's
brief reign

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

his long wait. He was not supported well by the French ministry, and was often chided for his inability to work miracles. His own orders to his inferiors were not obeyed, and fret and worry marked all his days. Only about a year after his arrival in New France he went to bed and died from nervous prostration in 1752.

The French
build forts
in 1753

The Marquis Duquesne succeeded a few months later. He seemed from the first to hold things with a whip-hand, and at once began to counteract the raids of the English traders. His plan was to build forts on the Ohio, with strong garrisons, and thus absolutely keep out the English traders. It was a bold scheme, and history shows how well it was carried out. Paris was pessimistic about the scheme, but finally a beginning was made. An expedition set out in the spring of 1753, consisting of about 1,000 men under Marin, whom we remember in Acadia. The first place where a fort was built was at Presqu'Isle, the present Erie, Pa. Where French Creek was reached he built Fort le Bœuf. The businesslike ways of the French and the great numbers in the expedition profoundly affected the Indians—affected them as only a show of force could—and they began to get into the French bandwagon. Almost every tribe in that neighborhood came into camp to treat with Marin, and even to offer assistance in the work of fort-building. The usual experiences and diseases of troops in a new country so reduced their strength, however, that nearly all were compelled to return to Montreal for the winter, garrisons being left at Presqu'Isle and Le Bœuf. About this time Marin broke down, and Saint-Pierre arrived to take command.

Indians
profoundly
affected

THE PERIL TO FRANCE IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

The outlook for the winter was lonely enough, and Saint-Pierre began to curse roundly his luck when on December 11 a stranger, evidently an Englishman, with a small retinue, arrived at Le Bœuf and asked to see the commandant. He came from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, being adjutant-general of the militia of that province, and he gave his name as George Washington.

Saint-Pierre, when he learned who sent the young officer, did not need to ask his errand. But Washington delivered his message with his proverbial courtesy: it was a polite "Get out!" The journey of Washington is well known to all readers of American history, and need not be told here. The governor had ordered him to ask Duquesne by what authority he dared encroach upon British soil and there erect fortifications. Of course the pretenses of the English and the French were all equally bluster. There was nothing approaching an agreement on boundaries. A feeble attempt had been made at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to settle these disputes by referring the subject to a boundary commission, but after several months' session the commission adjourned *sine die*, unable to agree. France wanted all North America and so did Great Britain. As a matter of fact force was the only argument considered of any value regarding even the regions already settled, while the hinterland or frontier was open to the power which got first on the ground and defended that ground.

The only reply Saint-Pierre could make after three days' cogitation was that he would refer Dinwiddie's letter to Duquesne. The return trip of Washington, how an Indian shot at him and

A visitor
from
Virginia

Boundary
pretensions

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Washington's adventurous return

missed, how he almost lost his life while trying to cross the Allegheny on a raft, and how at last in January he reached Williamsburg to report to the governor—all these are familiar and traditional episodes in the life of the first of all Americans. Dinwiddie knew now just what to do, but alas! he was no autocrat in Virginia. The House of Burgesses was jealous of his encroachment on its prerogatives, and there was a lively contest for months between executive and legislature on the terms of the act to raise money to drive out the French. He prorogued it at length, but later called it together again, and after considerable wire-pulling got what he sought, an appropriation of funds to meet the expenses of an expedition, which was to start in the spring of 1754.

WASHINGTON'S CAMPAIGN

The lagging colonies

THIS expedition was first of all to build a fort at the junction of the Ohio and the Monongahela, at the very place which Marin had designed to place it for the French, and thus to notify France that she could proceed no farther along the Ohio. But the season was getting late—it was already February—and so Dinwiddie sent Captain Trent with a small band of backwoodsmen to go to the forks and build any sort of a fort, and hold it until the larger force could arrive. Meantime Dinwiddie was summoning assistance from the other colonies. He got cold comfort from most of them. North Carolina actually sent only three hundred men. Pennsylvania's governor, Hamilton, could not get the Quakers and the Dutch in his Assembly to do anything. There were two regiments of regulars in New York, and they

THE PERIL TO FRANCE IN THE OHIO COUNTRY



MAP OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Quarrelling
militiamen

were ordered to the front, and got there too late to do any good. The North Carolina troops quarreled and mutinied and finally disbanded. So all the force that actually got to the scene of conflict—for, as the reader must anticipate, there was a conflict pretty soon—was the little force of Virginia militia and volunteers numbering three hundred men. Joshua Fry was appointed the colonel, with Washington lieutenant-colonel.

The French
build Fort
Duquesne

Washington started out in April with half the ragged regiment, and had reached Wills Creek when poor Trent and his comrades appeared on the scene to inform him that on April 17 a huge force of French came down the Ohio with cannon, and ordered the fort to surrender, which was done. This force was really five hundred men, and commanded by Contrecoeur, Saint-Pierre's successor. They built a new fort, and named it Fort Duquesne. Washington duly reported by messenger to Dinwiddie, who was beside himself with rage, both at the French for their daring encroachment, and at his legislators for the delay in furnishing him funds. But he urged Washington to go ahead. The tall Virginia colonel needed no urging, but went at the task in the sturdy way that characterized him.

A rash
expedition

Just why he and Dinwiddie ever contemplated such an absurd scheme as sending his small detachment through a wilderness to attack a fort garrisoned by five hundred French regulars and Canadians provided with field guns, is difficult to guess at this distance. Undoubtedly they expected the regulars from New York, and the North Carolinians to come in time. But it was a rash expedition, and met the fate it deserved. A few years later Wash-

THE PERIL TO FRANCE IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

ington would have done better. As it was he started for the one hundred and fifty miles of trees, brush, mountains, and rivers that intervened between Wills Creek and Fort Duquesne. He was to halt at Midway, a storehouse station of the Ohio Company, and wait for reenforcements. But fate willed it otherwise. Washington crossed the mountains, and at Great Meadows he heard of a party of French from Fort Duquesne, sent out to spy upon his movements. They had been terrorizing the English inhabitants of that region, and evidently meant mischief. Washington tried to find them, but at first without success. Finally an Indian friend of his came with information of the party's whereabouts, and Washington, taking forty men, struck out one night for the enemy's hiding-place. At daybreak, after a night of wandering, they came upon the camp. The French seized their muskets. Washington ordered "Fire" and the French commander, Conlon de Jumonville, and nine others were killed; twenty-two were captured. Out of this petty affray came a dreadful amount of noise and clamor from the French to the effect that Washington had stealthily crept upon a party of French sent to bring him a message and killed them in cold blood. Laying aside the evident inconsistency of any pot which sent out parties to slaughter sleeping New England villages calling any possible kettle black, the allegation in this instance was absurd. If the French had really wanted to deliver a message to Washington, why had they not done so? The fact is, it was a spying party, and by its depredations earned the right to be regarded as an enemy to the English. Falling upon a hostile camp by night may shock

Washington
surprises
the French

Absurd
charges
against
Washington

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The first
bloodshed
in a great
war

Quakers and the esthetic, but it is no departure from the customs of war. However, it was an earlier Lexington, for there was the first blood shed in the great war which was to revise radically the map of North America.

THE SURRENDER OF FORT NECESSITY

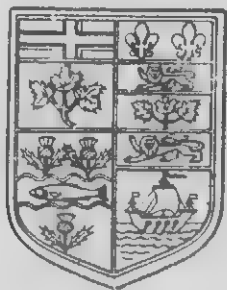
A queer
sort of
negotiation

WASHINGTON'S position was now perilous in the extreme. Coulon de Villiers, a brother of the dead leader, set out on an avenging tour from Fort Duquesne, with a force at least double Washington's, even after that had been augmented by the remainder of his Virginia volunteers and a company of regulars from South Carolina. There was nothing to do but prepare to meet them, and Washington built a fort on the plain in what seems to have been an unfavorable and badly chosen position. He called it Fort Necessity, and on July 3 it was attacked by the overwhelming force of French and Indians. There could be but one end to such a combat, and that night Washington surrendered. The proposition, however, came first from the French, and it was really due to their extremities that they asked for a parley. Their ammunition was running low, they were all wet and hungry, and the Indians were threatening to desert the next morning. Of course Coulon did not reveal his condition to Washington, who at first refused to treat for terms, but at length yielded. The terms were very quickly agreed to, and were very favorable to the English. They were allowed to return to Virginia with their arms, although the numbers of the French were sufficient to take all the English prisoners to Fort Duquesne. One paragraph of the terms referred to "*l'assassi-*

THE PERIL TO FRANCE IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

nation du Sieur de Jumonville." Only one of Washington's force knew French, and he was the Dutchman, Captain Van Braam, who conducted the peace negotiations. He translated that phrase "the death of Sieur de Jumonville," and Washington did not know how he had been deceived until weeks later the French were publishing that peace agreement as proof that Jumonville was assassinated by Washington. Van Braam's translation of French was as free as many a college freshman's. Washington tricked by a phrase

The next day the mournful march back to Wills Creek began. Washington had lost twelve men killed and forty-three wounded. It was the Fourth of July, and probably no amount of jubilation over the event of twenty-two years later ever obliterated from Washington's mind the sad sensations of that July 4th in the woods and plains of the western Virginia mountains. There was no doubt which was the victorious party, for the French returned to Fort Duquesne jubilant, although a rigid commander might have, and should have, asked them: "Where are your prisoners?" A mournful July 4th



CHAPTER XXV

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

Effect of
Washington's defeat

THIS defeat of Washington was in its immediate effect most disastrous to British authority. All the English traders at once withdrew from the Ohio and there was none to dispute the sway of the French. But it stirred up the colonies to great indignation, and assured them of England's cooperation in the task of driving out the French interlopers. Dinwiddie got the authorities in London aroused, and they agreed the following November to send over two Irish regiments, under Major-General Edward Braddock. These sailed in January, 1755.

An
impossible
position

Things were moving pretty rapidly to a crisis between France and England, when in time of professed peace a fight between the two flags occurred on the frontier in which a score of lives were lost, followed a few months later by the despatch of a thousand men from England, led by a major-general, to avenge that defeat, and guard and advance English posts and possessions in disputed territory. England was in no condition for war, and yet she was deliberately flirting with war, and doing it at last in behalf of her colonies, who had asked for help and been falsely promised it so many times before. France did not wait until her diplomatic

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

query as to the meaning of this expedition was answered before she put her own upon the sea. Three thousand men under Baron Dieskau were ordered to America, accompanied by eighteen men-of-war. The inquiry regarding Braddock's expedition brought forth the answer that its design was wholly pacific; and when the question was turned about and applied to the French fleet and troops the reply was the same. We know very well what Braddock was ordered to do, and the French were ordered to stop him, and in addition to destroy Fort Halifax, one of the forts built by Shirley on the Kennebec. In order to continue the peaceful game the British government ordered Admiral Boscawen with a squadron to intercept and destroy the French fleet. His ships were stationed off Newfoundland, but most of the French vessels eluded him and reached Quebec or Louisbourg. Three of the French ships, however, became detached from the others in the fog and storm, and two of these were pounced upon by Boscawen's fleet and captured. The other escaped. War ought to have followed immediately, but it did not. France sought most of all for delay, and England was not prepared for war. So both hesitated, although both knew it must come.

General Braddock with his soldiers had meantime arrived in America, and was hastening preparations with all possible speed. He met at Alexandria, Va., in the Carlisle House (which is still standing) the governors of Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and there planned the campaign. It was to be in four parts. Braddock was to take Fort Duquesne; William Johnson, agent

Amusing
diplomatic
equivoca-
tors

A conven-
tion of
governors

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

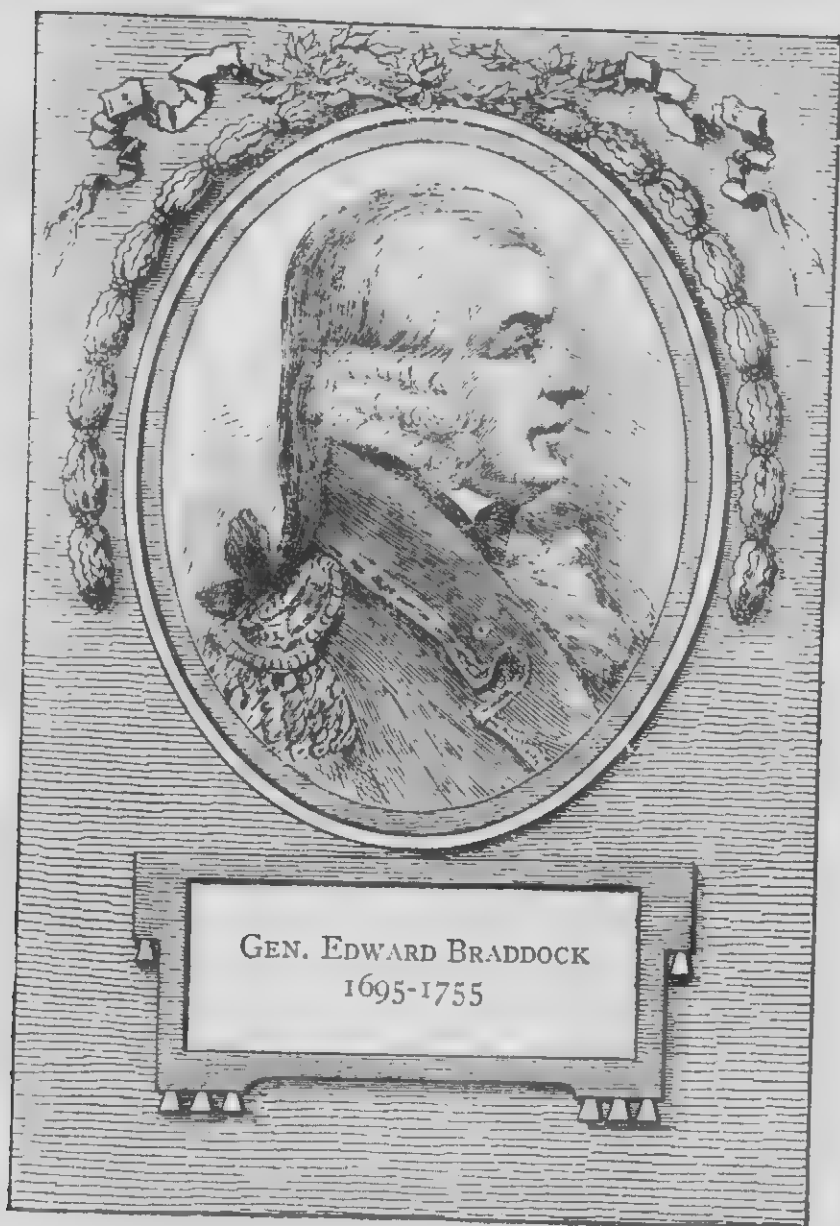
of Admiral Warren in America, who, we have seen, was greatly admired by the Mohawks, was to take Crown Point; Shirley and Pepperell were to take Fort Niagara, and Monckton was to take Fort Beauséjour.

Braddock
himself

The story of Braddock's expedition and defeat is so well known, and its facts so generally uncontested, that I shall not attempt to give the details of it here. Everybody knows that Braddock was defeated because he tried to fight in the woods by the rules and alinements provided for the plains and with civilized opponents. The man himself was not half bad. He had nearly all the faults of the proverbial English officer, and most of his virtues. He was egotistical, hot-headed, brave, and methodical. He cursed the Virginians roundly for delaying the expedition by not furnishing wagons and other supplies more quickly, and he speedily became unpopular with the colonial forces.

The
expedition
sets out

The start was made from Alexandria in the spring, but it was May 10 before Braddock reached Wills Creek, or Fort Cumberland. By that time the force was pretty well worn with making its way slowly through the mountains, but in general the morale of the command was excellent. The two regiments of regulars had been increased to 1,500 men, and there were 450 Virginia volunteers under the immediate command of Washington, who was on Braddock's staff with the rank of major. In spite of the delays and the errors of judgment it can not be said that the column was in otherwise than good condition, or that the prospects of at least reaching Fort Duquesne were not excellent. In the mean time, however, Fort Duquesne



THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The French
plan to
anticipate
Braddock

had been strengthened and reenforced, and would have been almost certainly a most difficult position to capture by Braddock's force. Hearing of these reinforcements, and that a force was to be sent to intercept the English, Braddock, by Washington's advice, took 1,200 men with cannon and pushed on ahead. The force sent out by the French consisted of 70 regulars, 150 Canadians, and 650 Indians, under Captain Beaujeu. Braddock had a few Indians as scouts and fighters when he started, but he offended them, and when the fighting came they were not at hand.

THE BATTLE NOT AN AMBUSH

Indians
fighting
behind
trees

THE contest occurred only a few miles from the fort, and just after the English had crossed the Monongahela. They were passing through a ravine when the scouts came rushing back, crying that the enemy was just ahead in great numbers. Now, such a contingency—an attack in the woods—ought to have been provided for, but it was not. Soon the enemy came in sight and the attack began. The Indians at once scampered for the trees and logs, especially those at the right of the English, taking positions on a hill above the latter, who were grouped in the cleared place in the middle. This device on the part of the Indians gave to the affair the appearance of an ambush, and it was so called for about a century or more. But it was really no physical ambush. As in golf, however, there are mental hazards in abundance, this was indeed a mental ambush.

From the beginning it was a peculiar contest. Rare is it indeed that the fall of a leader does not

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

demoralize and destroy the effectiveness of a command. In the first few minutes of this battle in the woods Beaujeu fell dead. Immediately the Canadians broke and ran away, an unexpected and exceptional act of cowardice on the part of Canadians of that day. The French regulars, however, remained and kept up the fight. More important still, the Indians, either because they in the din and uproar of the fight did not know Beaujeu was dead, or were too excited and enjoying themselves too much to care, kept on fighting, and they won the battle.

The English were utterly demoralized by this steady rain of bullets from a foe they could not see. They tried at first to get their cannon into action, but never succeeded fully. They shot at the direction from which they saw the powder discharged, and from which the awful yells and shrieks were coming, but their bullets merely struck the trees, or whistled over the heads of the Indians. Meanwhile Braddock had come up and was trying to form his men into some sort of military figure, but without success.

The Virginians at once sprang to the trees and got behind logs, and began to fight the devil with fire. Some of the redcoats tried the same tactics, but were driven out into the open by Braddock with the flat of his sword. Washington was everywhere directing the fight and trying to rally the men. Finally the demoralization became so great that the British simply crowded together in the open, shouting and shooting wildly, and offering the best possible mark with the largest mortal results for the fire of the Indians. What most tended

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

to panic was this foolish, wild shooting of the British into the Virginians, killing many of them and causing such terror and dismay to an army as can only be caused by such an act—the firing of soldiers upon their own comrades. It is useless to detail this battle story further. The panic became a retreat and the retreat a rout. Among those who tried to cover the retreat, and were wounded, were Gage and Gates, destined to high rank on opposing sides in the Revolution. And among the backwoodsmen who fled in the rout was the great Daniel Boone of Kentucky. At the beginning of the retreat Braddock, just mounted on his fifth horse, was struck by a bullet in the lungs, and fell to the ground. He was taken to the rear and borne along as carefully as possible. The French did not follow up the victory. There were few of them in the contest, and after the retreat they returned to the fort. The Indians, too, did not pursue the fleeing column, but took out their satisfaction on the bodies of the dead and dying, and at length returned to the fort laden with their gory emblems of victory.

Gage, Gates
and Daniel
Boone

Braddock
shot

Flight and
disgrace

The reserve of the army was at Laurel Hills under Colonel Dunbar, and when the news of the disaster came to him he and his officers committed the crowning act of folly of destroying vast quantities of supplies and ammunition and retreating in a far more disgraceful manner than the beaten army, which came along a few days afterward. Braddock steadily grew worse, and on July 10, the day after the battle, he died. His body was buried in the road, and over the grave again and again marched the whole army, horses and wagons, in

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

order to hide the burial-place from the Indians. So well was it hidden that no one has ever since been able to point out the exact spot of his sepulture. During his last hours he is said to have expressed his admiration for the Virginians and his contempt for his own men, and to have whispered, "Another time we shall know better how to deal with them."

The loss of the English force in this battle was terrific, 63 of the 86 officers were killed or disabled, among the former Governor Shirley's son, and only 451 of the 1,373 non-commissioned officers and privates escaped injury. The French loss, while not fully reported, was insignificant, and the Indians lost less than 20 braves.

The after-results of the defeat were as crushing as the battle itself. Every English trader west of the Alleghanies left his home haunts in terror, and the French Indians even leaped across those mountains and carried the torch and the knife into the homes of western Virginia and Maryland. Dinwiddie was beside himself with rage and disappointment. He even quarreled with Washington for a time. Colonel Dunbar with the remnant of Braddock's army did not return to Virginia, but marched or ran to Philadelphia. Nowadays a commander who acted so wantonly would be court-martialed.

Thus the whole West was in French hands, and, where a few years before French prestige was gone and the whole region honeycombed with Anglomania, now largely because of French aggression and British blundering the English were driven out and all the tribes that were becoming so friendly

THE TERCE ,TENARY HISTORY OF CANADA
to the English were drawn back again toward the
French.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CROWN POINT

Dieskau in
command

In the panic of Braddock's retreat a bundle of his secret papers, outlining the four campaigns of that year, was thrown upon the ground and found by the French. Thus they were able to gain a knowledge of the three other campaigns then in progress. That against Fort Beauséjour was already on and ended in the expulsion of the Acadians, as we have seen. The attempt by William Johnson to take Crown Point was a partial failure, made so almost wholly by Johnson's laziness and the forewarned condition of the French after Braddock's papers were found. It was after the 1st of July before the camp was formed at Albany, and it was the middle of August before the start up the Hudson was made. A fort, called Fort Lyman, was built at the carrying-place between the river and Lake George. That done, the troops, consisting mainly of New England rustics, proceeded toward the lake. When they got there they found a surprise awaiting them. Baron Dieskau, the new commander-in-chief of the troops of New France, was there with 3,500 men, including Indians. Johnson had about the same number of soldiers, but fewer Indians.

A hot
fight in
the woods

The French laid a clever ambushade for the advance of the British troops and completely surprised them. Among those killed at the first fire that came from the bushes was Hendrick, chief of the Mohawks. For a few moments there was an utter panic and the Iroquois Indians with the English

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

were running away like a pack of whipped hounds. But soon the panic involved the French Indians also, and little effective shooting was done. Part of the English colonial forces rallied and covered, with great credit, the retreat back to the camp where Johnson was stationed. The French did not, perhaps could not, follow up their advantage. The Indians were dispirited by their own foolishness and inefficiency; and the Canadians were depressed because they had lost their gallant leader, Legardeur de Saint Pierre, a veteran of the wars in America, whom we saw last in the Monongahela country.

Meantime, Johnson, being aroused and told of the ^{Johnson's} rout by the advance guard of the vanquished that ^{defense} poured panting for breath into his camp, began to make preparations for defense. A hasty rude barricade, formed of wagons and trees, was thrown up, and behind it were placed three cannon, and on a hill another, where they could command the path by which the French approached. It was hours later before they came, and this interval gave courage to the English troops and their red allies. The forces under Dieskau came on with enough courage and enthusiasm to win any battle, but they were largely a wild, undisciplined band, and at the first of the British fire from cannon and muskets they halted, and then many fled. Desperate hand-to-hand fighting took place, and Dieskau himself was struck down and captured. The Mohawks wished to eat him, but Johnson protected him and cared for his wounds, ^{Dieskau} which were very serious. He was sent to Albany ^{wounded} and later to England, and died a few years after. ^{and captured} His experience in the New World was almost as unfortunate as Braddock's. Oddly enough, it was

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Braddock's defeat that made Dieskau so sure of victory.

Johnson's
failure

Johnson rested on his laurels with a vengeance. He declared his men were exhausted, but he was probably only too glad to let well enough alone. November soon came on, and a council of war decided to go no farther. Crown Point was not taken, not even approached, and so the expedition failed in its main purpose. Its chief result was that Johnson got a parliamentary grant and was made a baronet. He also renamed the beautiful sheet of water which Jogues in his simple, holy zeal had named Lac St. Sacrement, and called it Lake George¹ after his king.

Johnson was undoubtedly a man of some ability and much plausibility, and he certainly had the most disjointed force any man ever had. It was composed of farmers and mechanics from five colonies, each jealous of the others, and each really controlled by its home legislature. This made a rope of straw of the army unit and ruined all attempts at discipline. Still an energetic soldier in command would have compelled his men to march on Crown Point. Johnson undoubtedly left his work undone.

Shirley's
plan to take
Niagara

The Niagara campaign was to conclude the summer's victorious march. Of this expedition Governor Shirley of Massachusetts was leader, with Pepperell second in command. Neither of these gentlemen was a military expert. Shirley was no soldier at all, but, like most governors and other

¹ A monument to commemorate this battle has within comparatively recent years been erected at the scene of the contest near Lake George.

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

executives, imagined that he possessed true military genius, which is, of course, wholly independent of training or study. The capture of Louisbourg by Shirley's orders and under Pepperell's immediate direction had rather unduly inflated both, although neither had very much to do with it, for it was due chiefly to the blunders of the French. Still Pepperell acted on the whole wisely, and had had some little military experience. Under a competent general he would have been a valuable aide, but second in command to Shirley he was almost as useless as his chief. Yet it would have required a Napoleon to carry out the scheme of taking Niagara with 2,500 men. Probably a Napoleon would not have attempted it in that way. Their scheme was to start from Albany and make their way by river and road through the woods to Oswego, then by water to Niagara, and back to Oswego and Albany. That journey through the woods with his three regiments of volunteers and skittish Indians would have been, under ordinary circumstances, bad enough. But the start was made so late that before they had gone far they heard of Braddock's defeat and young Shirley's death, and army and leader were discouraged. The course lay up the Mohawk, and then, at the great carrying-place (where Rome now stands), by march to Wood Creek and then to Oswego. It was a long trip, and a hazardous, hard one. The men grew sick and dispirited. Only about half of them were fit for a fight. Luckily no enemy was encountered, and Oswego was reached safely. But there Shirley heard that the French had got a large force at Fort Frontenac across Lake Ontario, and were prepared, as soon as

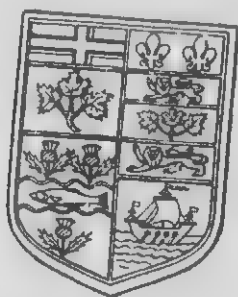
Shirley in 1
Pepperell

A Quiratic
project

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The task
abandoned

his force left for Niagara, to pounce upon Oswego. The best thing for him to do, therefore, was first to cross the lake and take Fort Frontenac, and then proceed to Niagara. But that was too stupendous an undertaking for the valiant Shirley, and he sorrowfully gave it up. Leaving 700 men at Oswego to protect the frontier and menace Fort Frontenac, he set out for home in November, having found the St. Lawrence what many another leader had found it to be, "a graveyard of reputations."





PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING, TORONTO, ONTARIO

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

THUS the year 1755 was a very calamitous one for British arms in North America. Overwhelming disaster followed the chief campaign against Fort Duquesne; Crown Point and Niagara were not taken; only in far-off Acadia was there a success, and there victory was followed by disgrace in the cowardly and inhuman expulsion of the Acadians. The disaster on the Monongahela meant not only hell on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. It meant too that unless this defeat was reversed and the points lost were regained and the British posts advanced, the whole Ohio country, with its rich furs and its empire of fertile soil guarded by savages, would be French. If the Ohio were French, all North America, except the little fringe of settlements along the Atlantic, would be French. It was a black day for the English in America—happily, however, the darkness before the dawn.

All North
America
might
become
French

Meanwhile Great Britain and France were not at war. The two flags had met in deadly combat in the forests of North America and on the high seas, and many lives had been lost, yet there was no declaration of war. But for the first time in history a European war was coming on chiefly for the sake

As yet no
declaration
of war

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

of the North American colonies. France would not go to war for them, but Great Britain would. Rather, Great Britain must. It was the fury of popular sentiment in England, at the defeats of British arms in North America as well as in Europe, which drove the imbecile ministry of Newcastle into the semblance of activity and the declaration of war. This was made May 18, 1756. Its ostensible cause was the attempt on the part of Russia, France, and Austria, to compel Frederick the Great to give up Silesia. It was a mongrel alliance, and yet it did not necessarily call for the assistance of Great Britain to Frederick. Undoubtedly King George was guided by a desire to keep his grip on Hanover, from which he sprang. Whether the other powers expected England to take any part in the war it is difficult to know. Authorities differ. There is no doubt, however, that Great Britain's main motive in this interference was to win back her lost ground in America. France did not want any contest with Great Britain anywhere. She could not afford it, and she hoped it might be averted. Her interest in the European war was at first nominal and religious. And when the war came on she seems to have decided to let the Canadians fight their own battles with as little help as possible. So far as the Seven Years' War in Europe is concerned we shall care little. The result was the ruin of France, the dwarfing of Austria, and the glory of Prussia. But with the contest fought in America we shall have the most vital concern.

The result of that contest every reader knows. It was really the reward which New France won

War
declared,
May 18, 1756

The
European
phase

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

from her long campaign against the English colonies' frontier. That point has been made so often that I fear it may have become trite. Yet a full realization of that principle is necessary to an understanding of the terrific impulse which united all these colonies in a grim purpose against the power of France in America. The chieftains at Quebec and Versailles had sown the wind, now they were to reap the whirlwind.

Nothing can be more striking in American history than the change which came over the New England colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century. Militant and aggressive from the first and ready to send expeditions by sea or land against a foe, they were yet peaceful and just in life and purpose. But the policy which Frontenac in his last days encouraged, if he did not originate, of

conducting raiding expeditions against the homes of peace-loving settlers in New England—this policy carried out with all the horrors of Indian cruelty, and persisted in for years, at last wrought upon the Puritans and the Pilgrims until they were goaded into one impulse and hope—the destruction of Canada. They were slow to wrath, but at last they had become thoroughly and terribly aroused.

Alone and unaided they had determined to conquer Quebec, as they had conquered Annapolis and Louisbourg. The failures of the expeditions against Quebec did not shake their purpose. No other colony had such a firm conviction, or such a clear conscience on the affair. True, the Bostonians had not always exemplified the square deal, and hypocritical conduct was not rare, but at bottom the attitude of these colonies had been honest in dealing

New
England
bound
vengeance

Determined
to capture
Quebec

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New York's
sorry
record

Her
selfishness

with the French and the Indians. No ravishing expeditions against unprotected towns had ever deliberately started from New England. New York, on the other hand, had a sorry record to show. It had actually instigated the Iroquois to their deviltry, and could not hold any righteous indignation against the French for turning the tables. Yet New York did not suffer in any measure the woes visited upon Massachusetts for the reason that many of the French Indians could not be induced to fall upon New York settlements, because these redskins were related by tribe and blood to the Mohawks, who constituted a large part of the population of many New York towns. The part New York played in all these colonial negotiations was a purely selfish one. New England, left to bear the brunt of the French and Indian onslaught, was ready to fight Canada single-handed. She had won all the victories against French power that were worth winning, and had become wrought up to the point of undertaking alone to assail Quebec. But fate decreed that this was not necessary. Massachusetts, which had sought the cooperation of other colonies and been coolly ignored, was to have help. This help came from precisely the same source as the initial irritation and wrath of Massachusetts: French-Indian slaughtering bands. Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania would do nothing to help Massachusetts take Louisbourg, or Quebec, because they were not interested, having not suffered. But, when after Braddock's defeat the inferno of Indian war, pillage, and murder opened upon the peaceful villages of those three colonies, the reaction came, and they aroused from their lethargy and became as

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

clamorous for revenge as Massachusetts. New York saw where her interests lay and joined the hue and cry. New Jersey, acting then as now, did as New York did. Hence at the opening of the French and Indian war in America we find all the colonies united and eager to conquer New France. It was this union which grew into the greater union against British blundering and injustice a few years later. In addition to the colonial forces, public sentiment in England, as we have seen, was compelling the government to send an Imperial force of great strength to assist or lead in the subjugation of New France. No such an aggregation had ever before menaced Canada. It was so powerful as to seem irresistible.

VAUDREUIL, BIGOT, AND MONTCALM

WHAT was the equipment of New France with which to oppose this great force? We have seen that in population and education New France was much inferior to the British colonies. What she had as her chief fortress of strength, was her centralized and mobile form of government, an ideal one for any new and pioneer state. The governor-general's authority was supreme, and he dealt directly with the king or his ministers. In the British system, however, there were thirteen discordant colonies, easier to keep apart than to get together. One was autocracy, the other democracy. But autocracy, the main source of the power of New France, was to prove its most vital weakness. The agents of this autocracy had become gross, corrupt, and inefficient. They were preying upon the state and upon the king. In this time of stress and peril

English colonies united by French aggressions

New France strong in form of government

Where autocracy is weak

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they were fattening upon contracts, and upon stolen goods.

Vaudreuil a blunderer

In the summer of 1755 when Dieskau came to take command of the armies of New France, there came with him the new governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, son of the governor who followed Frontenac. He had few or no qualifications for the office, and was a failure from the start. His experience as Governor of Louisiana ought to have assisted in equipping him for his task at Quebec, but there are no indications of it. His characteristics will develop as the history of the contest proceeds. He came under apparently excellent conditions, in succession to Duquesne, whose health was poor, and he was warmly welcomed to Quebec because he was a native of Canada. Too often the native makes the poorest ruler of a country. It was so in Vaudreuil's case.

Bigot, chief of the corrupt

Vaudreuil was at best only a blunderer, but there was an official in Canada of whom this could not be said. That was the intendant, François Bigot, who had come out with La Jonquière in 1750, and was as shrewd a knave as appears in the annals of New France. He was as immoral as he was corrupt in finances. The perfection to which he carried the game of graft would put to blush the neophytes in crime of the twentieth century. He farmed out offices with admirable results to himself. The most blatant of these coadjutors was Joseph Cadet, whom Bigot raised from butcher to commissary-general, and who became the richest man in the colony. The vast sums that the king sent for war found their way into the pockets of this lovely pair. The soldiers were not paid, and the people were

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

without bread because of the thefts of Bigot and Cadet. In the two years before the conquest of New France by Wolfe, Bigot profited by the king's and the country's treasure to the extent of five millions of dollars. He was as cruel and false as he was corrupt and licentious. His type may be found in no nation to-day except Russia and, possibly, China.

Yet, honeycombed with corruption as was French administration, and opposed as the small forces of New France were to the huge armies of England, there is no doubt that at the outset of the struggle, and for a long period of its course, the chances of victory lay all with the French. Posterity has forgotten or is ignorant of this fact. We are so prone to regard the sweep of the Anglo-Saxon as irresistible that we impatiently brush aside any incident or argument, past or present, which points to a different result. Contemporary judgment, however, must correct this error so far as the middle of the eighteenth century in America was concerned. Aside from the vainglorious boasting of the colonial and British officers, there was deep apprehension as to the result of the war. Boston and New York knew that conquering Louisbourg or Port Royal was an entirely different thing from taking Quebec.

On the day of the declaration of war by Great Britain against France and her allies, the French expedition to America was in the St. Lawrence, approaching Quebec. Its leader, destined to win immortality and to deserve it, was Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm. Nothing so became France in her control in North America as the character of her first and last leaders here. There were many

Success not
assured to
the English

Montcalm,
gentleman
and soldier

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How
Montcalm
chanced to
lead this
army

differences in life and purpose and conduct between Champlain and Montcalm, but they were alike in being honorable, heroic, able, and loyal gentlemen—unlike many of those whom the falling nation sent to its colony in the New World. Montcalm was chosen to command this expedition because no other general wanted the place. There was more glory and honor in the European campaigns, and all the court favorites asked for a chance there. So the ministry was free to draft a good man, and it drafted Montcalm. His action and words on being notified of the command were gallant and Gallic. He was, he said, willing to go and glad of the honor, but he hated to leave his family and regretted that the command would not enable him to save any money to relieve his encumbered estate. To be sure there were plenty of opportunities for him in America to clear any possible mortgage off that little estate, but Montcalm knew nothing of them then, and afterward despised the chance, which was, indeed, no temptation to him.

His
splendid
record

He was a native of the south of France, which has produced so many leaders, including Presidents Loubet and Fallières, and had seen service in several European campaigns. He bore two wounds as the evidences of valor, and he had been often gazetted for brave acts. He was forty-five years of age when appointed, and his rank in the army was major-general. His home was at Candiac, where lived his wife and ten children and his mother, to whom he was deeply attached. It would be impossible to find a better representative of the elegant and refined gentleman soldier of France of the eighteenth century than Montcalm. He had



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but one known failing, a hot temper, which, unlike Washington, he did not keep under perfect control.

Vaudreuil
in nominal
command

We have already seen how great an advantage New France possessed at the outset in this campaign for supremacy in America. That advantage was trebled by the leadership of Montcalm. Yet in that very situation was a weakness, one of those many weaknesses which in the end meant ruin, for indeed it was because he was not actually in supreme command of the armies that the blunders were made which proved fatal to the safety of Quebec. Vaudreuil was, as governor, in nominal command, and in his jealousy he thwarted Montcalm's plans in small things, while not daring to oppose him in great ones. This divided command in an autocratic state was an anomaly and a blunder, but it was a part of French policy, as we have seen so often in the divisions between governor and intendant. Vaudreuil protested against any other general than himself, thinking he, as a civilian, was quite as capable as Shirley to command armies and direct campaigns. But the French ministry was wise for once, and paid no attention to his protest.

Montcalm's
splendid
aides

At first Montcalm was busied with organizing his new army. He had brought with him only 1,200 men, a force the pettiness of which showed how small was the interest of the king in New France in comparison with the European contest, to which he sent over 100,000 men. But small as was the army, it was one of the best forces ever at work on this continent. "The puppies fight well," said Wellington of the London fops in the Napoleonic wars. The same could be said of these city-bred French troops. But for their excellence Montcalm

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

and his generals were much responsible. Lévis and Bourlamaque were second and third in command, and Bougainville was his aide—all three splendid leaders and excellent soldiers and gentlemen. Of the number of regulars and Canadian militia at the time Montcalm arrived it is not possible to speak with certainty. The regulars numbered 3,752 and the colonial regulars 1,550. The Canadian militia consisted of all able-bodied men, but there were never more than 5,000 under arms at any one time. So that Montcalm's force, excluding Indians, did not exceed 12,000 men. Into this force Montcalm infused most of the enthusiasm and vigor of his own nature.

Extent of
Montcalm's
forces

There was little else for him to do, for the English were very quiet. Shirley had learned in February that he had been relieved of the command of the British forces in America and that the Earl of Loudon would succeed him. The noble earl managed to arrive in the New World in August, six months after his appointment. Under the circumstances Shirley could take no aggressive stand, and he merely waited to be relieved. Abercrombie and Webb, to be sure, arrived in June and took command in Loudon's name, but they did nothing. Nor did Loudon do much when he came. He found about 6,000 men of all sorts gathered about Albany and at Fort William Henry on Lake George and Fort Edward on the Hudson, and he was unable to plan any campaign against the French at Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain. The whole British force was in an undisciplined, quarrelsome condition. Each colony was wrangling with its neighbor, and British army rules, keeping sub-

The
wrangling
colonial
forces

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

ordinate those with the rank of volunteers, made all of them angry at and jealous of the British regulars.

OSWEGO CAPTURED BY MONTCALM

Vaudreuil
claims the
credit

ON the other hand, Montcalm did not as yet feel justified in taking the initiative. He could afford to wait. Meanwhile he undertook a daring side project—the capture of Oswego. Vaudreuil claimed the credit of suggesting that campaign and even of giving the orders, but Montcalm actually led the campaign and deserved the honor of the victory. It will be remembered that the year before, 1755, Shirley's plan of campaign was to use Oswego as a base to capture Niagara. But when he reached Oswego he found that Fort Frontenac, across the lake, had been freshly and heavily garrisoned. and its force would spring upon Oswego the moment he left to take Niagara. So his campaign was a failure, and, leaving a garrison at Oswego, he went sadly home. That garrison was then scandalously neglected by the British authorities, and for this Shirley's responsibility was clear. No effort was made for months to reenforce or provision the garrison. Meanwhile, for want of proper food and care, sickness wrought great havoc. One English expedition, under Colonel Bradstreet, had indeed been successfully conducted to Oswego with its supplies, but on its return it was harassed by a large body of French and Indians under the same Coulon de Villiers who had defeated Washington at Fort Necessity. That affray made Shirley wary about preparations for subsequent expeditions. At the same time he knew the French were preparing to attack it, and his engineers had reported that it was in no

Shirley to
blame

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

condition to resist. Stories of the famine and illness of the garrison also reached him. So he began to fit up his relief expedition. Meanwhile Abercrombie and Webb arrived, and Shirley resigned. The Oswego expedition was delayed, and it was not until August that it set out under Webb. When it arrived at the great carrying-place the news of the capture of Oswego by Montcalm reached Webb, and he promptly lost his head. The report added that the French were on their way to Albany, and Webb began a helter-skelter retreat. He threw trees into Wood Creek, which he had just cleared of them after prodigious labor, and he burned the forts at the carrying-place, the sole defense of the English and Dutch settlers of that region. For that act Webb deserved a court-martial, but he escaped scot free. That was the year Byng was shot for an act which, while in results much more serious, was in intent less culpable.

The story of the capture of Oswego may be quickly told. Montcalm hurried from Ticonderoga to Montreal, then to Frontenac, which he reached on July 29. On August 4 he crossed the lake, and in a few days the attack began. It was a most unequal contest. Against the 700 half-starved and sick men in a fort hardly better than a barn and defended by small guns was arrayed a fresh force of 3,000 men armed with modern siege-guns and full of enthusiasm. Colonel Mercer, the commandant, was killed early in the engagement, and before the fighting became general or the big guns of the French had come into play the garrison raised a white flag. The capitulation was speedily signed. Montcalm had all he could do to protect the 1,300 prisoners

English
relief
expedition
fails.

The French
victory
an easy one

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from the vengeance of the reds, and had to pay roundly in presents to them for their restraint. The fort was burned, and the victorious army returned to Frontenac and Montreal.

The French
gain
complete
control

Montcalm
counted
a wizard

It was a stinging blow at English prestige and pride, such a blow as would almost have crushed a people without tremendous reserve forces. It left the whole St. Lawrence, which had been guarded at Oswego for thirty years, without an English station, and gave the French complete control over the route from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico. It almost destroyed the work which Johnson had just done among the Iroquois, in confirming them in their neutrality, which was the best pledge he could obtain from them. It made Montcalm to his men and the American redskins a demigod, and to the English and colonial troops a wizard and destroyer. As we have seen, the capture was almost a burlesque, so easily was it accomplished, but the world did not realize this for months afterward. Parkman calls the victory the greatest French arms had yet won in America, counting Braddock's defeat an Indian success. Probably he meant a French victory over the English, for certainly Frontenac's campaigns against the Iroquois were more decisive, and involved more daring and strategic movements. Nor is it fair to regard Monongahela as wholly an Indian victory, for it was directed by the French, and they were responsible. But, in its effects, Oswego constituted a splendid and far-reaching campaign. What with that calamity and the inaction of Loudon throughout the summer, autumn, and winter, the year closed most dismally for the English. The French and their foes continued to

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face each other on the lakes, and occasional raids by the English under Rogers, the ranger, and by the French under Rigaud, the governor's brother, kept up the pretense of warfare. When winter came most of the English and Canadian volunteers went to their homes (to return or not in the spring, as they saw fit), while only the regulars braved the winter's rigor, their commanders passing their time in the more or less gay society of Albany on the one side and Quebec and Montreal on the other.

The volunteers return home

WILLIAM PITT AT THE HELM

YET with all its cheer for the French and gloom for the English, the capture of Oswego proved fatal to the French. For this and the fall of Minorca so enraged the English nation that the wretched Newcastle was driven from power, and upon the threshold of the world's affairs stepped the man who was to save England and make her great, William Pitt. It was only one more of the many illustrations which the Anglo-Saxon race has seen of the fact that in a democracy these nation-savers are developed and are produced when the crisis comes. The Duke of Devonshire became premier, but Pitt was the real ruler. That was in November, 1756. Within a month the hand of the doer became evident. England entered upon a defense program of sanity and strength. Then she started troops to India and the West Indies, and the overwhelming number of 19,000 men were ordered to America, to wipe out the stain of Oswego and the Monongahela. From that moment until the death of the king in 1760 there was no doubt of the

New spirit in the English

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A definite
campaign
in Canada

energy and inspiration of Britain in war. Had Pitt been in power when war was inaugurated, he would no doubt have kept out of the Prussian imbroglio and centred all efforts on the defeat of France in Europe and America. Thrown into leadership after war had been on for most of a year, he could pursue that policy of concentration on France as the main and not as the only war program. He did, however, keep as many soldiers out of Germany as possible and made America a great battleground. He did much more. He saw how France was neglecting her navy, and he resolutely guided England into that policy of a big navy which remains to this day her firm principle and unalterable purpose. To him was due the plan of campaign which made Canada British and kept it so.

Pitt's
tortuous
path in
Parliament

His path was by no means a free one, either in battle or at court. Devonshire and he could not muster a parliamentary majority, and the ministry was dismissed largely by the whim of the king acting under pressure from his son, the Duke of Cumberland, who wished to command the British troops in Prussia. But the country demanded that Pitt come again into power, and by a bargain with Newcastle, which seems necessary in democracies, and which often results ultimately in the accomplishment of noble purposes, Pitt became master of England. Newcastle indeed was premier, but he kept his hands off the helm of state and confined his activities to politics purely. On the field Pitt's progress, especially during his first year, was no less tortuous. He had hardly got in office before the news of the fall of Calcutta and the unspeakable horror of the Black

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

Hole reached England, and it was over a year before Clive won the victory at Plassey which marked the turning of the tide in India. The Duke of Cumberland, of course, got himself into a pretty mess in Prussia, and was compelled to surrender, a fact which probably cost Pitt few pangs. An expedition against Rochefort like that of the previous decade was a miserable failure.

LOUDON'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST LOUISBOURG A FAILURE

AND how were things progressing in America? Alas! Pitt could supply the troops, but not the transports or the brains to command. The plan ^{The campaign of 1757} for the year 1757 in America included the capture first of Louisbourg and then of Quebec. The first battalion of reenforcements reached Loudon in January, but it was July before the remainder, seven battalions, arrived at Halifax. We may well question the wisdom of a campaign which made Louisbourg its central object and diverted a great army from the Champlain region to that new field of operations in Cape Breton. But Loudon entered heartily into the scheme and really originated it. ^{An ambitious plan} He was to take his army to Halifax, meet the soldiers sent by Pitt, and be assisted by a squadron under Holbourne. As usual, the expedition was late. Loudon fussed around all spring, waiting to hear of its arrival at Halifax. He had assembled his troops at New York, and at last, in desperation, sailed with them for Halifax on June 20. If he had known that three swift French squadrons were on the sea bound for Louisbourg, he would hardly have dared the voyage. But he reached Halifax

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without incident, and, as luck would have it, Holbourne's fleet soon came limping in.

The French
prepared

So far so good. But then the policy of dilly-dallying again got the upper hand, and between drilling and raising vegetables for their own supplies, the troops did not get under way for the capture of Louisbourg until August 4. On that very day, however, the news came of the arrival of the French fleet at Louisbourg. Yet those warships had arrived there a month before Holbourne reached Halifax. This fact speaks volumes for the secret service of the British army and navy. During the war with Spain the American Commodore Schley was censured for not finding in a week where Cervera was. Even granting the greater elasticity of forces and ease of communication made possible by the use of steam and the telegraph to-day, it is very apparent that Loudon and Holbourne were woefully deficient in spies.

Loudon's
courage
gone

The arrival of this information at once took the fight out of Loudon. He gave up and sailed with his 12,000 men for New York. This flunk on his part clearly showed his calibre. Holbourne was evidently ready for the attack, for after Loudon had gone he sailed up to Louisbourg Harbor, trying to tempt the French warships into an engagement. Even if Louisbourg had 7,000 defenders as reported, Loudon's 12,000, supported by Holbourne, ought to have made it an equal contest. This turn-tail action is in significant contrast with the daring and successful exploit of New England fishermen and farmers only a dozen years before. Clearly Albion needed a leader in America. He was coming, although at that time he did not know it.



THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

THE CAPTURE OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY

Montcalm
at Ticon-
deroga

A REFRESHING contrast to the slow methods of the English information bureau was that afforded by the French. Montcalm learned early in June that Loudon had sailed for Louisbourg, and at once decided to take advantage of the army's removal. We are now coming to another exhibition of British generalship as pitiable as Loudon's, and a hundredfold more disastrous in its effects. Montcalm assembled at Ticonderoga 3,000 regulars, 3,000 militiamen, and 2,000 Indians, and prepared to march south even as far as Albany. Contemporary chroniclers describe with much detail the varying tribes of Indians gathered at Ticonderoga. Many of them, attracted by the tales of Montcalm's prowess, had come from beyond the Mississippi, eager to look into his face and to fight under him. That they were barbarous and cruel and uncontrollable will presently appear. Some of their scouting parties were successful from the start, and their cannibalistic appetites were only whetted by these petty victories.

The plan of
attack

Montcalm had carefully planned first the capture of Fort William Henry at the southern end of Lake George. That was garrisoned by 2,200 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Monro. There was a portage from that point to the Hudson, where Fort Edward stood, held by 3,600 men under Colonel Daniel Webb, the same man who conducted that disorderly and cowardly retreat down the Mohawk on hearing of the capture of Oswego. On August 1 Montcalm left Ticonderoga and, accompanied by his white and red associates, glided

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

down that exquisite and beautiful lake, which too few Americans of to-day enjoy. On the second night they arrived, unsuspected, at a bivouac two miles from Fort William Henry, on the west shore, and drew up canoes on the banks. But some sight or sound attracted the attention of the fort, and two boats were sent out to investigate. When they were drawing near a sheep bleated, and, whirling about, the English oarsmen pulled like mad for the east shore. They reached it, but a hundred canoes had leaped into the water as they turned, and by the time the English had gained the shore firing was general. Some of the English were killed, others captured, and a few escaped. Most unluckily for the English, they killed a great chief of the Nipissings, and great was the grief of his tribe and loud their cries for vengeance.

With the dawn the siege of the fort became a fact. Lévis had marched his men to the south of the fort and Montcalm threw up batteries to the left and north, near the site of the present town of Lake George. It is wholly unnecessary to describe this campaign. It was too short and featureless. Montcalm conducted the siege along regular models and in the best form, advancing from day to day, and pouring into the fort a deadly fire from his big guns. Monro was on the first day summoned to capitulate, but refused. Meanwhile the Indians with Montcalm were doing little of value, delighted like the children they were with the whole panorama of battle and especially with the music of the siege guns. They did none of the scouting work they were supposed to do and got in Montcalm's way, to the taxing of his small stock of patience.

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Webb
would
not help

Meanwhile what was Webb doing at Fort Edward, only fourteen miles away? He had visited Monro only the week before, knew that the attack was expected, and had promised to go to Monro's help with his whole army. He did send 1,000 men, who reached the fort the day before Montcalm reached it. So far so good. But this was a crisis when to "send a boy to mill" as he did was a gross blunder. The 1,000 men he sent were not enough to save the fort, and could only become just so many more prisoners in Montcalm's hands. It has been urged in Webb's defense that the 2,600 men left in his command were all that stood between Montcalm and Albany. But could they have done anything to obstruct Montcalm's march if he were minded to go to Albany? By no means. It does not require a soldier to see that Webb's action was a blunder from any standpoint. He had promised Monro that he would come to his aid with all his army. Yet when, on the 3d, Monro wrote of the approach of the French, and later of their attack, Webb broke his word. He did not stir. At last, on the 4th, he wrote a letter to Monro, advising him to surrender. The bearer of it was killed and the letter carried to Montcalm, who after three days sent it to Monro by his aide.

The fort
surrenders,
Aug. 9

By this time it was plainly all up with the garrison. Many had been killed, the guns were disabled, the fort had been breached, and smallpox was raging. All of the French guns had not yet opened fire, and when they did the slaughter would be terrible. On the 9th Monro raised a white flag, and a parley with Montcalm ensued. The capitulation was signed promptly. Its terms were that

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

the English troops should march out with all the honors of war and be escorted to Fort Edward by a detachment from Montcalm's army; that they should not serve in America for eighteen months, and that all French taken captive by the English be set free within three months. This escort to Fort Edward was provided in order that no Indian depredations might occur. Before signing the capitulation Montcalm called together the Indian chiefs and secured their promise to obey its stipulations and restrain the young braves from any inhuman act. Then the signatures were made and the fort was surrendered.

Either the Indian chiefs never meant to keep their promise or they were wholly unable to restrain the young savages. At any rate, no sooner had the garrison marched out than the Indians rushed into the fort, seeking "firewater" and booty and blood. They found some sick men in the hospital, and butchered them without hesitation. They then searched for rum, but little was found, for, on Montcalm's advice, the English had emptied all the barrels of rum. The Indians grew daring, and tried to get into the chests and stores of the English, who were still encamped nearby. Montcalm interceded and succeeded in driving them away.

The arrangements were that in the morning an escort of 300 French regulars was to accompany the English to Fort Edward, and two chiefs of each tribe were also to go along, to assist in keeping order. The English passed a shuddering night, for the Indians were prowling everywhere and showing their devilish desires. Still nothing occurred that night, and they ought to have trusted

Terms
of the
surrender

Indians
threaten-
ing

A shudder-
ing night
for the
English

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

A condition
of panic

Montcalm to keep his word. But they had got into a condition of panic, undoubtedly increased by the women's fears, and determined to start for Fort Edward at daybreak. This was a grievous blunder. The way to balk a savage dog is to keep your hand on your revolver, but otherwise affect to ignore the dog's presence, even if he is rushing toward you. The English showed their fear, and the bloodthirsty wretches stood in awe only of those who did not fear them. While getting ready to start, the English heard that the Indians had entered the tent of some wounded men, from which the guards had just been removed, and had tomahawked them. By this time the escort had arrived, but the Indians, wild for blood, were pressing about the English, demanding rum and their baggage. If they had not got some rum the rest might not have been to tell. But the English soldiers had rum in their canteens—which they are not allowed to have in these days—and gave some to the red devils. This inflamed them terribly, and they became wholly uncontrollable. Montcalm and his officers rushed to the spot and used every effort of threat and bribe to restrain the Indians. They succeeded only partially. The Indians gave the warwhoop and many rushed with drawn tomahawks upon the English near them. It is useless to describe the scene further. The wretched English made their way toward Fort Edward with the reds after them, and assaults were taking place nearly all the way. The affair, so far as actual murders are concerned, has been greatly exaggerated. Fortunately few of the English resisted when the savages merely wished to take them prisoners. Probably less than 100 were

Inflamed
with liquor

The
massacre
of the
English



PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING, FREDERICTON, NEW BRUNSWICK

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

killed. About 700 were taken prisoners and maltreated, but Montcalm, who was almost crazed by the awful tragedy, succeeded in getting all of these away from the Indians but about 200. With that number they started off for Montreal, not a part of Montcalm's army, but a horde of wild cut-throats, who ought, all of them, to have been shot.

The only good result of this slaughter, from an ^{Montcalm} English standpoint, is that by this sacrifice all of ^{halted} Montcalm's plans to take Fort Edward and Albany were given up. While Webb was trembling in his boots for the safety of his own precious skin, the redskins, by butchering the English, were making his safety sure. Montcalm was too sick at heart to proceed farther, although his command was in excellent condition, and prepared for instant and long service. Undoubtedly here Montcalm made two serious blunders. He ought to have gone on and taken Fort Edward. The task would have been ^{His withdrawal a} an easy one. But even if that were abandoned, he ought to have held Fort William Henry. But he evidently thought it best to close the campaign at once. He would not occupy Fort William Henry and no one else should. So he burned it, and on August 16 his army reembarked for the North. It has been said in his defense that he found his forces too much reduced after the capture to justify him in undertaking the Fort Edward expedition. But he had his 3,000 regulars and some militiamen, while Webb had about 4,700, 2,000 militia having just arrived. With Montcalm as a leader, that French force could easily have whipped twice their number under Webb. No; it is plain that Montcalm the man had supplanted for the moment Mont-

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

calm the general. He showed his humanity still further by ransoming the 200 prisoners whom the Indians had taken to Montreal. These he conveyed to Quebec, and later sent by ship to Boston, a welcome port, for most of them were New England militiamen.

Was
Montcalm
to blame?

It is impossible to read this story of Fort William Henry without the strongest terms of condemnation of the atrocities committed by the Indians, and for these atrocities the whites must be held responsible. Yet it seems to me that the judgment of most of the historians on Montcalm's part in the affair is too harsh. He was able to restrain the Indians at Oswego, and he had taken what seemed to be to him reasonable precautions to prevent any outrages on their part. If it could be shown that any Canadian, or other man experienced in Indian ways, had warned him of the treachery of the savages, then would he be most culpable. But it seems to me that he should no more be held responsible for this atrocity than he could for the ascent of Wolfe's army to the plains of Abraham. In the one case his Canadian troops failed him in not reporting to him the fear they all had of the mutinous actions of the savages on the following day; in the other case the Guienne regiment was allowed by Vaudreuil to leave that part of the river forest near L'Anse au Foulon a few days before Wolfe landed there. We know that over and over again Montcalm had been told how careful he must be not to antagonize or offend the Indians, lest they turn to the English. Yet when the crisis came, and the savages were wild with drink and beginning their bloody work, Montcalm risked his life by rushing among them, taking

His courageous acts

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

with his own hands prisoners away from them, and pleading for the English, even if they did not spare him. The retort to this is, of course, that no one disputed Montcalm's courage, but it is his judgment and foresight that are called into question. But it seems clear that had not the guards been taken away from the tent in which the sick men were at 5 o'clock in the morning, and none sent to replace them—a detail for which no one to-day can place the responsibility—the Indians would not have had a chance to get their taste of blood that morning. Then came the assembling of the frightened prisoners ready to run away before their escort arrived—a strategic blunder which I have already discussed. Then came the threats, and demands for whisky, and the weak compliance—then the catastrophe. All this happened early in the morning, and Montcalm came just as soon as he was told of the trouble. Unquestionably it was then too late to prevent some outrages, but undoubtedly his coming did save the English from almost total annihilation. The period of tomahawking was very short, lasting, so far as we can learn, less than thirty minutes, and it is really wonderful that no more than 100 were killed by the rum-and-blood-maddened brutes. Very wisely, Montcalm did not attempt to interfere at once with the Indians in their taking prisoners. That was for the English a most welcome alternative to slaughter. The men really to blame for this massacre were probably certain Canadian militiamen. They very probably failed not only to inform Montcalm of what was likely to happen, but also of what was happening. The stories that the English tell of these Canadians standing near the tent where the

A question
of judgment

Canadians

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

sick men were being murdered are very likely true. We know that when the Indians took their captives to Montreal and Quebec Vaudreuil and Bigot were amused by them and allowed the Indians full sway in the cities, Bigot saying in his soothing way that the authorities must do nothing to displease the Indians. But Montcalm rose high above all those callous, indifferent associates, and sent the captives home.

A great
aid to the
English

The effect of this horrible event was, in the end, beneficial to the English. As has already been shown, it was one of the chief causes for Montcalm's decision to go no farther, thus sparing Fort Edward and possibly Albany. But its greater result was to increase the hatred of Canada and the desire for vengeance on the part of the American colonists and the people and Government of England. To the limit of sufficiency, perhaps, I have insisted that these barbarous raids and bloody atrocities of Canadians and Indians were the great and first source of the *delenda est Canada* sentiment in New England. This Fort William Henry affair, in its exaggerated form, simply heaped up the fury of former years.

International law
an elastic
affair

It also lost to the French some of the chief fruits of the victory. The British Government promptly declared the agreement of capitulation violated, and on arrival at Fort Edward the prisoners captured by the French at Fort William Henry resumed their service without the eighteen months' parole. Also no French prisoners were given up by the English. It is questionable whether such an attitude was legal, but international law was then, and is yet to some extent, an elastic affair.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BEGUN

No other engagement of moment took place that autumn, and soon the armies were in winter quarters. Vaudreuil was intriguing to have Montcalm recalled, blaming him for not advancing on Fort Edward, and was calling Fort William Henry "my victory."

Vaudreuil's
intrigues

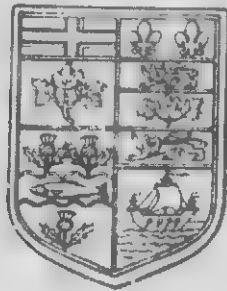
But Versailles paid little attention to the governor, and scarcely read the letters in which he whimpered about Montcalm. The latter was, on the other hand, giving his superiors in France a glimpse at the awful corruption and speculation of Bigot and his confederates. Of this system we shall speak later. Montcalm's words were heeded, and his prestige increased. Personally his life was very lonely, and he was plainly bored almost to death. He and the governor were on the best of terms nominally, and often dined together, but the general saw through the rottenness and folly of social and political affairs, and despised his associates. That winter he often wrote home that at the end of the next year's campaign he would ask to be recalled. The winter was, however, a very brilliant one socially, and balls and receptions made officialdom very gay. Montcalm himself was compelled to give several balls, at the same time bemoaning in his letters his increasing financial obligations. Yet with all the glitter and show of gaiety and wealth, Canada was poor and suffering, because she was robbed and looted. That very winter the supply of flour gave out, probably by Bigot's connivance, and the starving populace at Montreal was almost in rebellion. Horse meat was eaten despite great popular resentment. New France was rotten at the heart.

Gaiety and
starvation
in Quebec

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Washing-
ton's
stamina

We are not interested in knowing how Loudon and his companions spent their winter; Loudon was a miserable failure, and was clearly set down for recall. But down in Virginia Colonel George Washington was all alone, working night and day, and gaining experience and acquiring popular confidence, that some day was to stand him in good stead. He was trying to keep back the hordes of Indians who were ravaging the Virginia frontier, and the embarrassments and discouragements which he suffered were enough to test the stamina of any man. He got almost no help from the Carolinas and Georgia, and some of his own officers were slow to come to his relief. He was profoundly disgusted with conditions, but for the sake of the hundreds of lives entrusted to his care on the frontier, he stuck to his work and came out victorious.



CHAPTER XXVII

JAMES WOLFE AND THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBOURG

TO France the victories of Frederick and Ferdinand ought to have given warning; but Madame Pompadour, the real ruler, paid no heed, continued to dismiss and promote ministers and generals, and even in the face of ruin lived the same life of luxury, excitement, and sin.

Things were different across the Channel. There William Pitt was drawing up plans for the conquest of New France and selecting the men to accomplish it. He determined on three campaigns for 1758, against Louisbourg, Ticonderoga, and Fort Duquesne. There was no nonsense about his plans, and if he could have selected the right men to carry them out they would have triumphed completely. But like all executives he was hampered by political and other extraneous considerations. Abercrombie, who had in no way distinguished himself with London, was selected to succeed him and undertake the capture of Ticonderoga. Forbes was to recover Fort Duquesne, and Amherst was to lead the great expedition of the year, against Louisbourg. With Abercrombie was to be associated Lord Howe, a very able and brilliant young officer, and to Amherst were assigned Wolfe, Whitmore, and Lawrence. Lawrence was still Governor of Nova Scotia, resting on

Unleeding
crane

The three
campaigns
of 1758

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the laurels he had won by his expulsion of the Acadians; Whitmore was little known then or afterward, and Wolfe was to become the supreme hero and sacrifice of the war. Amherst had been serving as a colonel in Germany, and was promoted to be major-general in order to lead this expedition.

Wolfe
all soldier

James Wolfe's career is, from now on, so closely connected with this war that an introduction to him is imperative. Wolfe was all soldier, and had never been anything else. He lived in an age when to be a soldier was the greatest career for an ambitious and patriotic man, yet he was far above the average soldier of the time in his devotion to the life of a soldier. In the American Civil War some boys of sixteen served, yet there are few if any examples in modern times of a boy of fifteen receiving a commission, and at sixteen serving as adjutant in a battle, and at the age of nineteen becoming brigademajor. Those things Wolfe did. He could not have lived outside a camp, and into his short life was crowded such fighting experience and glory as come to few men in a career of twenty years' service under arms.

HIS BIOGRAPHY IN BRIEF

He was
of Irish
extraction

OF course he was of Irish extraction, although his mother was a Yorkshire woman, and the family had resided in England for two or three generations before James Wolfe was born. His father was one of Marlborough's fighting youths, and became a major-general. The boy was born in Westerham, and received such education as he had in the schools of that little town. But for books or school James cared little. He was a soldier from birth. At the



WILLIAM PITT
FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM
1708-1778

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Wolfe's
active
experience
in wars

age of thirteen he became actually enrolled in the regiment of his father, then preparing to sail for Cartagena, but was prevented from going by some juvenile illness, and was sent home, a thoroughly disheartened and crushed boy. But that discouragement did not last long, for in two years he was given a commission in the 12th regiment, and the next year he was in battle. This was at Dettingen, in Flanders, and he actually was adjutant, and filled the office well. No better commentary can be made on the loose army regulations and lax methods of that day than this fact that a boy of fifteen could get a commission, and at sixteen in a bloody battle serve as adjutant, responsible for delivering orders which might mean death to many poor fellows. But, possibly, the army officials saw the genius in Wolfe from the start. At any rate he filled every position with complete credit and satisfaction. The British army was full of sluggards and incompetents, and it was easy for a brilliant and hard-working officer to make his way.

Ten years'
home
service

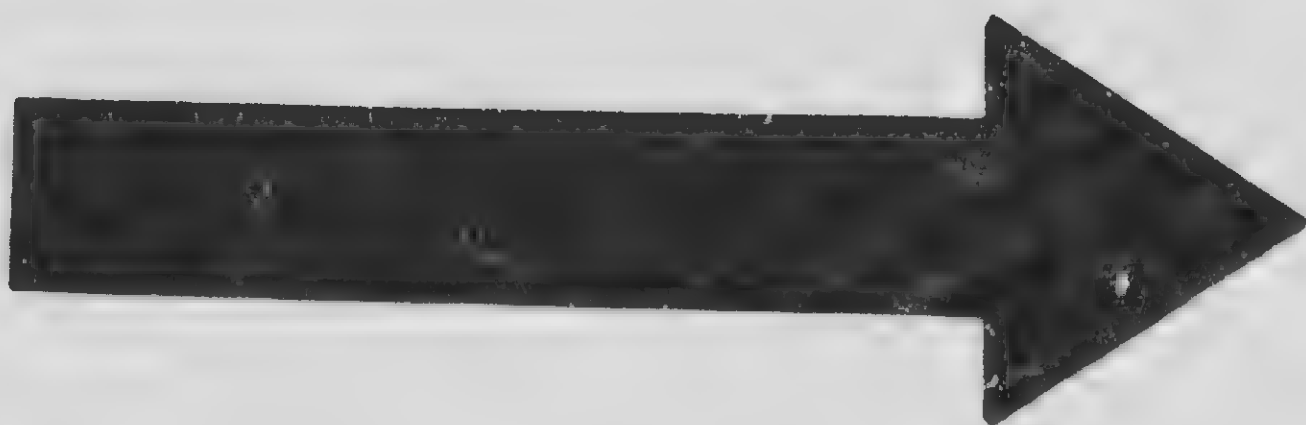
After his wars in Flanders we find him helping suppress the Jacobite rebellion of '45 at Culloden, where, at nineteen, he was brigade-major. He then saw fighting on the Continent, and was wounded at Lauffeldt. Then for almost ten years he had to undergo what was to him the most utterly repulsive form of drudgery, home service. But most of this home service was important and valuable. It was spent largely in Scotland, among an almost rebellious, at best restless, population, and this disagreeable duty he performed so well that the Highlanders grew fond of him. Like all young fellows in the twenties, he had fallen in love, and on rejection be-

WOLFE AND LOUISBOURG

came for a time dissipated, but soon recovered his balance. During those agonizing home-service days he occupied his time, and greatly improved his basis for distinction, by a close study of mathematics and the classics. He grew so sick of his life in the Highlands that he got a six months' leave of absence and spent it in Paris, was presented at court, and became versed in the language and the accomplishments of the day. But he did not again plunge into dissipation. On the other hand, he spent much time in study, and asked to go to other countries, to study their military methods, but was refused. Times have changed since then.

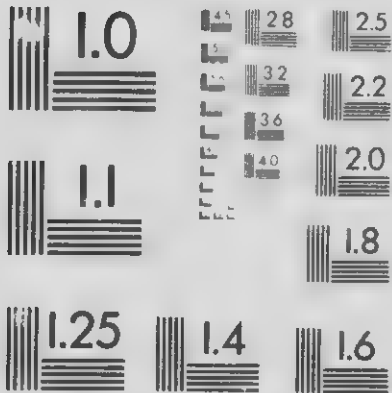
We next see him fourth in command of the luckless expedition against Rochefort, and he was the only one who escaped blame for that fiasco, the investigating board indeed praising his conduct in unstinted terms. His work in Scotland had attracted the attention of the King, and this most recent campaign was fresh in all officers' minds: so Wolfe was easily in line for honors in the war with France in America. He sought the assignment, although his health on land was always poor, and at sea he was a wretched invalid. He wrote a friend before leaving England that, while he had sought the place, he knew the voyage threatened his life and would certainly wreck his constitution.

At this point the great genius of Pitt manifested itself in his employment of the navy as the chief bulwark of English greatness. Although at that very moment an expedition was being fitted out in France for the invasion of England, Pitt courageously called upon all the naval forces that he could muster to coast along the shores of France



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THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The navy
Britain's
reliance

and prevent any naval force from reaching America. From that moment all help which France, aroused at last to desperation at Canada's condition, had resolved to send to Louisbourg and Quebec was effectually stopped. Hawke and Osborn were able not only to keep in the harbors, but actually to defeat, French fleets, some of them with troops on board, which Louis had gathered for New France.

THE LOUISBOURG CAMPAIGN

The start,
June 10

MEANWHILE preparations were being hurried forward for the despatch of the great army for the capture of Louisbourg. This expedition sailed from England on the 19th of February, 1758, but so heavy was the sea and many the storms that it was not until May 10 that the fleet reached Halifax. Only a few days were spent, however, in repairing the damages, and by June 10 the entire force—the largest that had ever assembled in North America—set sail from Halifax for Louisbourg.

Amherst's
huge force

We have already described the fortifications of Louisbourg, and the general character of the town and the fortress at the time of its capture by Pepperell. In the intervening thirteen years very few changes had been made in the fort. It had, to be sure, been repaired, and the garrison largely increased. The Chevalier de Drucour was now Governor, and under him were about 4,000 men, chiefly French regulars, besides the inhabitants, consisting of about 4,000, most of whom were armed and ready for battle. There were also in the harbor seven line-of-battle ships and five frigates, carrying 550 guns and manned by 3,000 sailors. The force which Amherst, who was in general charge of the expedition, com-

WOLFE AND LOUISBOURG

manded consisted of about 12,000 men, and the naval force was 23 ships of the line and 17 frigates.

The arrival off the town was made on the 2d of June. The weather was very stormy for several days, and so gloomy was the outlook for a landing in face of the strong French guards that the proposition was almost abandoned. At length, however, the original plan was carried out. Two forces made a feint at landing at the two coves nearest the town, while Wolfe with his detachment approached Kennington, or Freshwater Cove, four miles distant from the city. A force of 1,200 French troops stationed there opened a terrible fire upon his party, and Wolfe's flagstaff was shot away. He signaled his men to retreat, but they persisted, and through the surf finally managed to make a landing. It was a desperate chance, but Wolfe, who was well fitted for fighting under just such conditions, supported the landing. Many men were drowned, but finally the French force, which had fought valiantly to keep off the party, was put to flight. More than 100 of them were killed or taken prisoners, and the British loss was about the same.

The French at the very outset made two blunders which it is difficult to excuse. They abandoned the Grand Battery, as they did during the Pepperell campaign, although this time they blew it up after removing the stores; and they abandoned Lighthouse Point, across the harbor's entrance and opposite the Island Battery. Grand Battery was worthless when abandoned, but Lighthouse Point gave the English a chance to seize a position from which they could pour a deadly fire into the Island Battery. One of their very first movements was the

Landing
under hot
fire

French
blunder at
once

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

despatch of Wolfe with 1,200 men to set up a battery on Lighthouse Point.

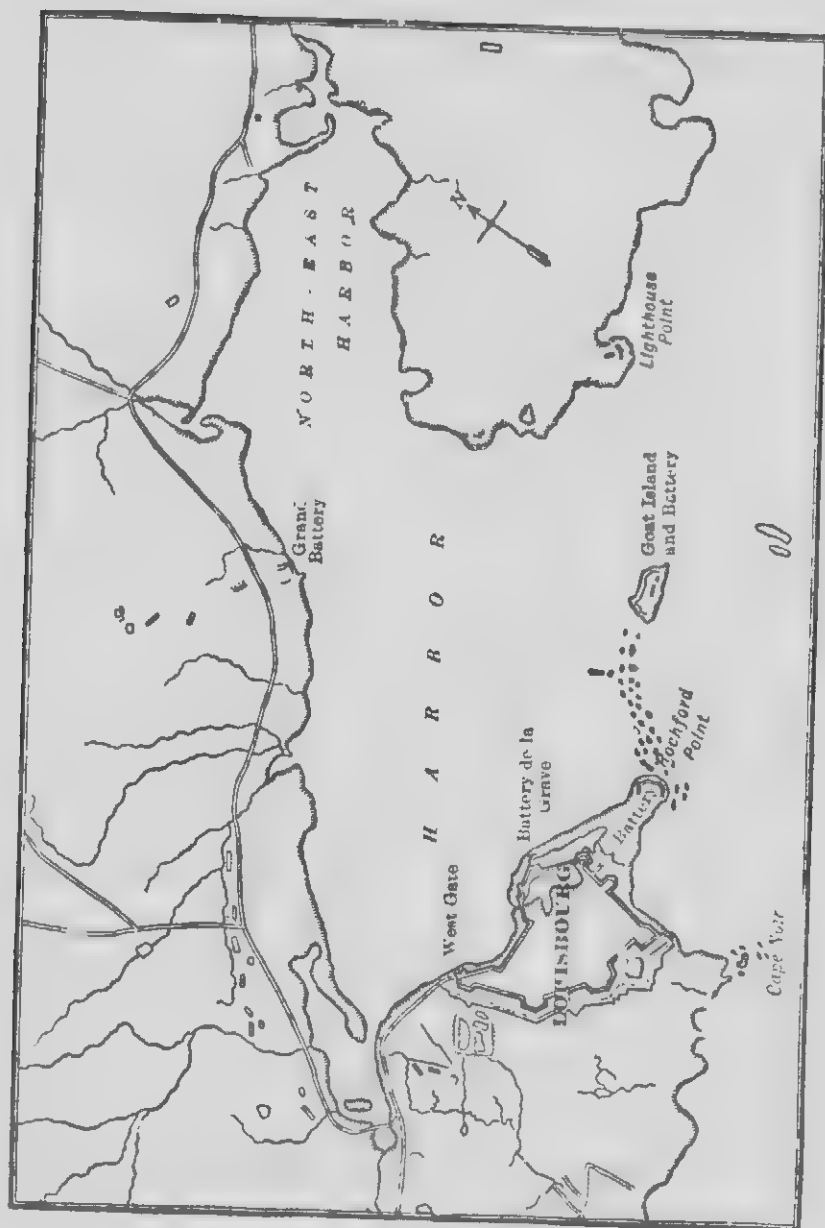
A brilliant
artillery
duel

That meant a hot fight at once. Wolfe opened fire on the Island Battery and the ships in the harbor, and they responded. It must have been a terrible but brilliant scene, especially during the night. But the fight did not last long. Both ships and battery were silenced in less than a week. That settled the seaward defense of the fortress: it was gone. There was nothing to prevent Boscawen, the British admiral, from sailing into the harbor and attacking the fortress from that side. Drucour saw this and sank six ships in the harbor mouth, effectually blocking it. That was the first evidence of generalship that he had shown. The defenseless side of the town was thus practically free from attack, for the guns from Lighthouse Point could not reach the fortress walls.

Amherst
steadily
advances

But how about the other side? Amherst had begun his siege in a systematic way, and had fortified himself on a hillock overlooking the town and only about a half-mile away. The guns of the fortress rained shot and shell upon that spot, but the structure was completed. The onward movement became general. Like a mole, the English were found each morning to have advanced nearer the town. Wolfe led in this movement, throwing up intrenchments on the left, or seaward, side of the fort only one-third of a mile away. A sortie, July 6, against Lawrence on the right and on July 9 against Wolfe were the occasions of the only hand-to-hand bayonet contests of the siege. It was a dogged fight in the dark, and was without result, the French at the end having failed to drive the English back.

WOLFE AND LOUISBOURG



MAP OF LOUISBOURG

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The best
fighter
among the
French

There was one jaunty French ship which Wolfe, from Lighthouse Point, had not been able to silence. It was the "Arethuse," which now stationed herself in a western angle of the harbor and poured solid shot upon the besiegers. This little frigate's performance was really the most brilliant and creditable feature of the French defense. She made all sorts of trouble for Lawrence's men, and their guns responded with a storm of shells. At length the plucky little craft could stand it no longer, and, sailing out of range, she plugged up her holes and one dark night struck out for France. Narrowly missing the wrecks of her six comrades guarding the harbor from ingress, she soon found herself in the open sea. The British ships lay about in startling abundance, but she evaded them all and soon was speeding with all sails set to France. In spite of the English guards, she reached port, and soon the king knew that Louisbourg was doomed. A sister ship, which early in the siege had tried to get help from Quebec, was captured after a merry chase.

Wolfe's
daring coup

Meanwhile the fighting was going on furiously, and every day the British came nearer. At length, on July 16, Wolfe rushed upon and fortified a hill only 300 yards from the fortress walls. It was a daring, desperate chance, and many men were killed in the coup, but he held the hill and began to throw a riddling fire into the city. A shell exploded upon one of the French ships in the harbor, she caught fire, set fire to two others, and the three burned to the water. To complete the demoralization inevitable upon this catastrophe, 500 English sailors one night in small boats entered the "bottled-up" har-

WOLFE AND LOUISBOURG

bor, boarded the two French ships left, overpowered the crews, burned one, and towed the other into a corner where British guns could protect her.

By this time the condition of the fortress and city had become untenable. The walls were seriously damaged, and in several places a breach was imminent. Fires were occurring at irregular intervals, and even the hospital was not safe from the merciless shots of the English. The loss of the garrison from death, wounds, and disease was frightfully high. A rear attack on the besiegers by the Acadians and Indians had utterly failed. All hope of help from Quebec or France had been abandoned. The guns of the fort had been so silenced that their response to the British cannon roar sounded like a pop-gun. The inhabitants of the town begged Droucour, for the sake of their suffering, to give up, and at last, after numerous conferences, he decided to yield.

The city in
a desperate
condition

On July 27 the capitulation was made complete. The French troops were drawn up on parade and marched out of the fort. In all there were 5,637 men—soldiers and sailors—included in the surrender. A large amount of ammunition, stores, cannon, and other ordnance passed into the hands of the English, and as Louisbourg was the only fortified position of France on the North Atlantic Coast, the old satrapy of Acadia, which French power founded, for which so many missionaries had given their toil, and soldiers and civilians had given their lives, passed away. And with the transfer Louisbourg ceased as a fortress. The English were not persuaded as to either its importance or strength. They already had a strong base at Hali-

Louisbourg
surren-
dered,
July 27

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

fax, and another so near was not necessary. So the order went forth for the dismantling of that gigantic fortress, on which undoubtedly more than six million dollars were spent at a time when the purchasing power of a dollar was twice what it is to-day.

Louisbourg
to-day

The destruction of the walls and ramparts occupied years of time, and yet so massive was the masonry that to-day its lines and even the walls themselves are clearly seen and pointed out to visitors. A movement is now on foot for its restoration. The place itself is no longer of any consequence, merely the home of a few fisher folk. It is characteristic of the march and changes of civilization that now the chief city of Cape Breton is not Louisbourg, which was a military and strategic point, but Sydney, the home of iron and steel.

Wolfe's
prestige
great

Wolfe had won the chief distinction from the capture of Louisbourg. Amherst's name was not much heard, but the impetuous attacks which Wolfe had made on the fortress and the spirit with which he inspired his men made his name one to conjure with throughout all Europe. What Montcalm's emotions must have been when he learned of this new leader, who was brilliant where others had been slow, efficient where others had been worthless, and strategic where others had been blundering, can not be told. This was undoubtedly the best man that England had ever sent to America: fit and able to command. He had his faults, of course; he had made mistakes; he was to make more mistakes and encounter failure, but at that time Pitt recognized that Wolfe was to be the great leader in the final contest.

WOLFE AND LOUISBOURG

Meantime Wolfe wished to push right on to ^{Wanted} Quebec. He felt that it was only summer now, ^{to take} and by making a quick rush to Quebec he could ^{Quebec} take the fortress before winter set in; but, just as they were considering the matter, news came to Louisbourg of the failure of Abercrombie at Fort Ticonderoga, and a force had to be sent to help repair that blunder.

England had heard this news almost as soon as Halifax did, and she was wholly unprepared for the tidings which came so quickly afterward, of the capture of Louisbourg. Captain Amherst, the brother of the general, had gone to England by a fast ship, and had taken with him the French standards. The receipt of this news was among the most welcome that England ever heard. The people had been so long used to hearing of defeats that they had almost lost their confidence in the strength of British arms. The whole country rang ^{Rejoicing} with jubilee, with cheers, and was alight with ^{in England} bonfires. The captured French flags were carried through crowded streets from Kensington Palace to St. Paul's, and the kingdom was in a delirium of joy. American cities also rejoiced, although few of the colonial troops had taken part in the triumph, and they regarded Louisbourg as hardly a menace to them, except as New England fishermen had been angered by the capture of their fishing vessels by French warships which had Louisbourg as their base.

CHAPTER XXVIII

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

The cam-
paign in
New York

NOW let us turn to the campaign in New York, where the old plan to reach Canada by way of Lake Champlain and Lake George was to be fought out by Abercrombie. Few expeditions were ever undertaken with such favorable beginnings. Pitt had galvanized England into life and enthusiasm, and the colonies had caught the contagion. All the Americans needed was to be shown that old England meant business, and they rallied to her standard with a spirit that must have cheered Pitt's heart. Certainly England was now in earnest. Twenty thousand troops sent to take Louisbourg was one evidence, and the offer Pitt made to the colonists regarding the Ticonderoga campaign was still another. Pitt called for 20,000 men, and offered to equip and arm them, and to ask Parliament to help pay them. The colonies responded with 17,000 men, these coming from New York, New Jersey, and New England, the proud province of Massachusetts alone contributing 7,000. There actually embarked on this expedition about 15,000 men, 6,300 regulars and 9,000 provincials. They were gathered together at Fort Edward about the middle of June, and in the first week of July they embarked on Lake George for their epoch-making campaign.

15,000 men
at Fort
Edward

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

Abercrombie had by this time made a poor impression on his men, but the real leader was Brigadier-General Lord Howe, who seems to deserve all the praise that has been showered upon him. He has been called a Lycurgus, because of his close watch over the camp and careful attention to the comfort of the soldiers; he ought rather to be called the Bayard of his time. He was a brilliant soldier and a lovable man. Wolfe called him "the best officer in the British army," and Pitt spoke of him in most eulogistic terms. The chroniclers of the time delight in telling how he reduced the soldiers' impedimenta to their lowest terms. He ordered the men's hair and their coat tails cut short, and set the example himself of simple living and light baggage, so that campaigning in the woods in July might not be the intolerable burden it would otherwise have been. Everybody loved this young officer, and when he went to the front Mrs. Schuyler of Albany kissed him farewell, as if he were her son.

In the mean time all had not gone well with the French. It will be remembered that the king's ministers had permitted Vaudreuil to have general charge of the war movements, although they had given Montcalm control of the troops in the field. This summer Vaudreuil had a grand scheme of sending Lévis with a force against the Mohawks, and thus diverting the attention of Abercrombie from Ticonderoga. He did weaken Montcalm's force to 3,000 men, and Lévis had left for the West when news came that Abercrombie had started for Ticonderoga with 15,000 men. So blundering, Vaudreuil had to recall Lévis with all haste and despatch him to Montcalm's assistance. It took a

Lord Howe
the real
leader

Lévis called
back just
in time

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Montcalm
decides to
remain

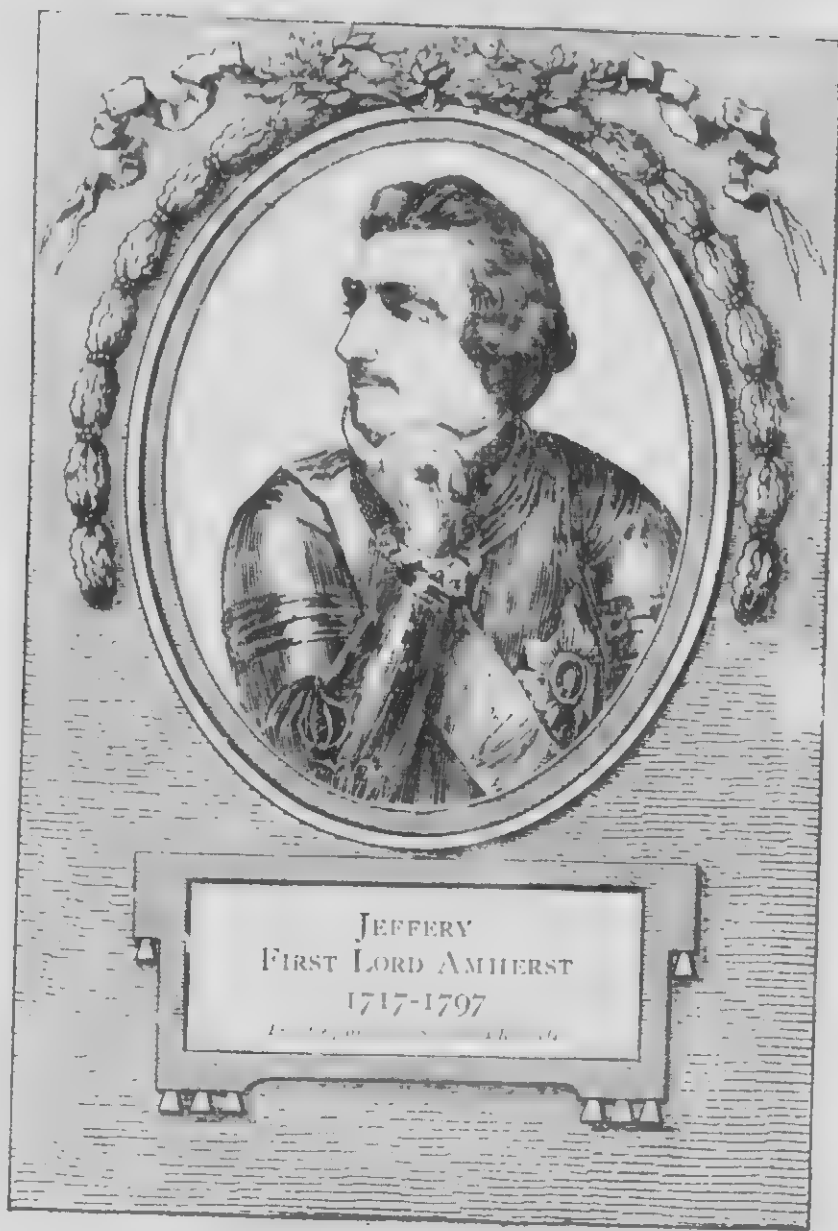
sterling quality of pluck in Montcalm to remain at Ticonderoga and face a force so much superior in numbers to his own—but only in numbers, for the troops under Montcalm were among the best in the world. Something that he could not understand told Montcalm not to retreat, the only military plan open to him. Possibly he counted upon British blundering. But he laid his plans with the skill and genius with which his name is ever associated.

A desperate
last resort

Ticonderoga was situated in a very perilous place, at the very extremity of Lake Champlain on one side and the river on the other. It was not defensible in the short time at Montcalm's disposal. So he fixed upon the unique plan of abandoning the fort and concentrating his force, now grown to be only 3,600 by the arrival of Lévis, upon a slight ridge a half-mile west of the fort. Upon the crest of this ridge he built, facing westward, a rude embankment, formed simply of trunks of trees piled upon one another to the height of eight or nine feet. In front of this breastwork he cut down the trees for perhaps 500 yards, leaving them as they fell, in a tangled, practically impenetrable mass. The idea that behind this rude embankment 3,600 men could withstand 15,000 armed with cannon seemed hopeless and absurd. It was, however, in many ways a brilliant strategic position. To the left and right were marshes, and approach even from them was difficult.

THE DEATH OF HOWE

To get some idea of the approach of the English, Montcalm sent 300 scouts under Langy along the river toward Lake George. Meanwhile Abercrom-



THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Langy's
scouts

bie had landed near the northern end of Lake George, on the west bank, and sent an advance force forward along Trout Brook under Howe. This force had proceeded only a short distance through the dense and silent woods when a challenge, "*Qui vive?*" rang out from the brush. "*Français*" was the reply, but Langy knew better. He had himself been utterly lost, and was now practically surrounded by the British. But he determined to fight, and a volley burst from the bushes, followed quickly by another. At the first fire several Englishmen fell, and among them was the darling of the army, Lord Howe. This despairing shot of desperate Frenchmen, caught in a trap, rolled back the tide of progress at least one year. Howe was killed, and the men near him burst into tears. But his force rallied, and after a brief fight all of Langy's little force were killed, wounded, or captured.¹

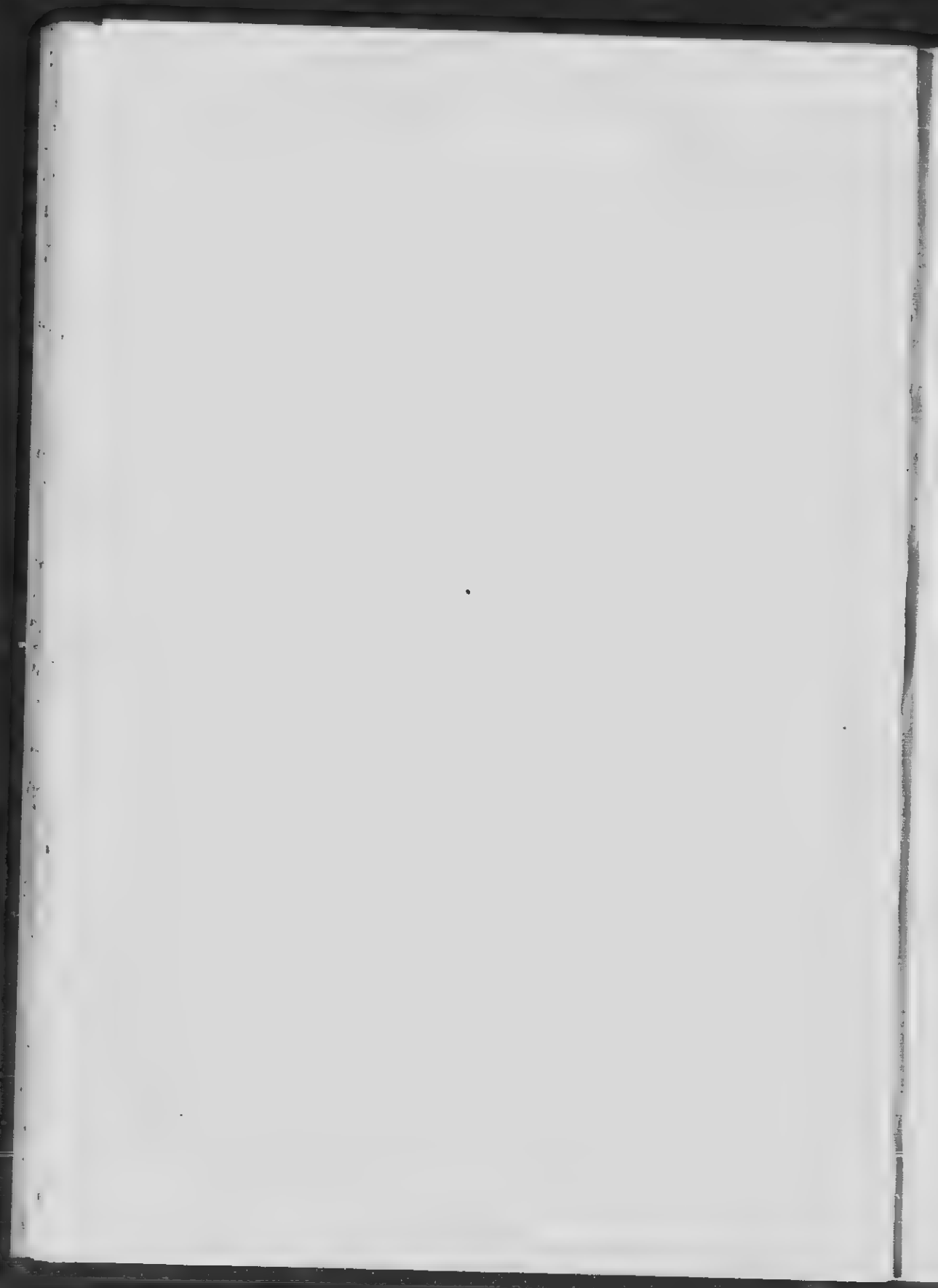
Abercrom-
bie's army
demoralized

The demoralization caused by the death of Howe was immediate and general. Abercrombie ordered

¹ On October 3, 1889, a workman near the village of Ticonderoga, N. Y., dug up a coffin, rotten with age, in which were a skull and some human bones. Nearby was a rude stone, inscribed, "Mem of Lo Howe Trout Brook." This find, taken in connection with a story handed down to a Ticonderoga family that a forebear had dug a grave for Lord Howe and made a hasty inscription on a stone, convinced Ticonderoga people that this was the coffin and these the remains of Lord Howe, and that he was not buried at Albany, as Lossing states. For ten years nothing was done about this discovery, but on July 31, 1899, the coffin and remains were reinterred at Ticonderoga with appropriate exercises, including an address by the famous Joseph Cook, whose birthplace and home was Ticonderoga. It is quite likely these were the remains of the brilliant young warrior.



MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE



MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

back his army to the landing-place, and all night they remained under arms. Had not Howe been killed and this retreat ordered, the British army would have reached Montcalm's force before his work of preparation was half complete. We are now to follow the story of one of the most startling examples of heroic courage in men and criminal folly in leaders known to all history—a story comparable only to the charge of the Light Brigade, and beside which Fredericksburg in the American Civil War was a slight indiscretion. Critics of the American attack by infantry on San Juan Hill might find it a weak likeness to this fight in the forests of New York.

Abercrombie, on the morning following Howe's death, again ordered the advance. By this time his engineers had discovered the French position, and his chief engineer, Clark, a man without any training at all, reported that in his judgment the place could be taken by assault and without cannon. Acting on that report alone, and without scrutinizing some other possible way to reach the position except by a frontal attack, Abercrombie hurried his men forward. By this time the French had completed one of the most ingenious of the position's defenses. Immediately in front of the breastworks heavy boughs were placed, interlaced with each other, and with ends sharpened to a point, sticking upward.

From the landing-place Abercrombie moved forward, crossed a bridge which Montcalm had torn down and E. .dstreet rebuilt, and marched by the usual portage to the river. This he crossed again at the point where Montcalm had built his embank-

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Three other
and better
plans

ment, and soon the British army came out of the woods and began the assault. At least three alternatives presented themselves to Abercrombie. He could have followed the road to the fort and got between Montcalm and the fort. He could have made the attack by cannon from Rattlesnake Hill, and, surest of all, with his immense force he could have simply surrounded Montcalm and starved him out. These plans, if at all considered, were abandoned in favor of the plan of assault by bayonet.

THE SUICIDAL ASSAULT

Shot down
and impaled

THE attack began about one o'clock, July 8. Stumbling over the fallen trees and branches, the advance line, if line it could be called, at length reached the abatis of trees with their sharp branches, like porcupine quills. Up to that time they had seen or heard nothing except the firing and retreat of the French pickets on the edge of the woods. They did not know what lay behind the breastworks. Now they learned, for a volley burst from the ridge, from the French troops hidden behind the earthworks with rifle barrels pointing through improvised loopholes. The shock was staggering. To take such a position by bayonet was impossible. To reach the position itself now became an impossible thing. In spite of the orders to use only the bayonets, the British troops could not help firing, first as individuals, here and there by companies, and then by regiments. But, like Braddock's men, they could not see any one to shoot at, and their shots were at first of little avail. They could not stand this hidden attack and these awful impalements upon which the wounded fell, and they retreated.

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

But Abercrombie, on Rattlesnake Hill, a mile away, gave no sign to stop the slaughter. On more plucky fighters came, to meet at the same point the fearful fate of the others. Six times on that blistering hot July day was this assault made. No men ever died more bravely or more foolishly. On the left or river side of the breastworks a most dangerous attack was made, for at that place there were no trees, but only a rocky ridge to protect the French position. Montcalm himself, in his shirt-sleeves, was directing his men with his usual skill when he saw this left attack. To it he now bent all his energies. It was the cannon which he had brought with him that saved the position, for against it the English could do nothing. And it was cannon a little later that saved him again. A large force of English embarked in bateaux, to get between him and Ticonderoga; but the guns from the fort sank two of the boats, and the others hastily returned. On the right of an embankment perhaps the most furious attack was made by some Highlanders under Major Duncan Campbell, who, it is said, had been told years before in a dream to meet the ghost of a fallen kinsman at "Ticonderoga"—a place he had never heard of before. These Highlanders fought as only Highlanders can. Again and again they dashed forward, and so great was their fury that some actually fought their way up and into the breastworks, only to be bayoneted there. Among those that fell was Campbell himself.

Six times
the English
advance

The
prophecy of
a dream

The sight was awful, frightful, and the sounds that came to the ears of the French could never be forgotten. There was moaning and cursing and wailing on every hand. The devilish invention of

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Abercrombie's stupid incompetency

the wooden spikes proved the most terrible of all the obstacles in the way of the English advance, and, impaled upon those spikes, hundreds of brave British troopers died. Throughout the slaughter Abercrombie stood on the hill and watched it. Not for one moment did he give the sign to retreat or change the plan of the day. Yet all this time his cannon lay at the landing-place, and in a few hours could have been brought up and turned sure defeat into probable victory. For the rude parapet which Montcalm had thrown up in a day could easily have been knocked to pieces by steady cannonading. It was one of the worst exhibitions of imbecile leadership ever seen in modern warfare. It seems strange that a nation which had caused the execution of Admiral Byng allowed Abercrombie to retire in peace.

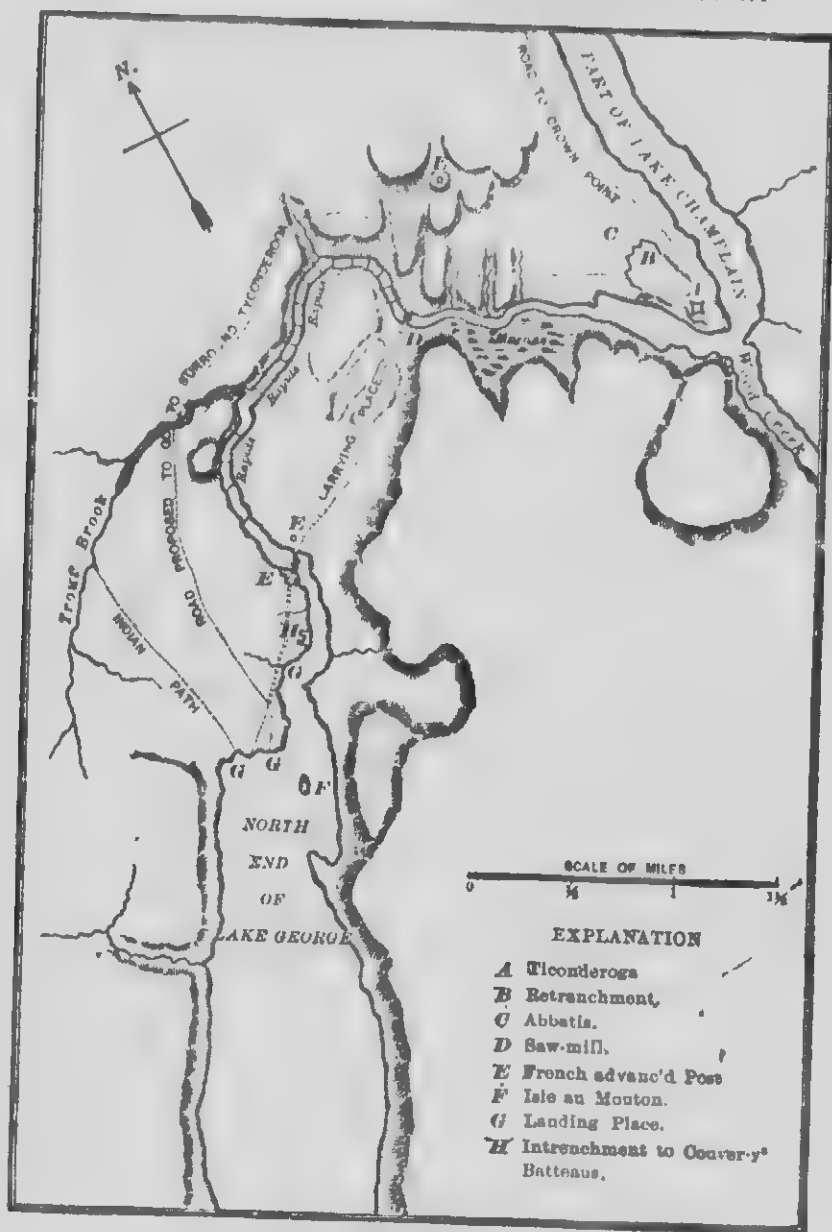
RETREAT AND DEMORALIZATION

The losses on each side

AT 7.30 P. M. the fight was over; the order to retreat was given, and the English disappeared in the dark shadows of the woods. Then the French took time to rejoice, a hearty meal was given them with beer and wine, and, best of all, Montcalm's cheerful words as he passed along the line. It was, indeed, a glorious victory. Abercrombie had lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, 1,944 men, including officers. Montcalm had lost 377. Even taking into account the usual presumption that the attacking party will lose much more heavily than the defending, the disproportion at Ticonderoga was outrageous.

Still, Abercrombie had 13,000 men left. He would, of course, retire to the landing, restore order, re-form

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA



THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

his army, send forward the cannon and at once recover his lost ground. That would be the true Anglo Saxon way. On the contrary, the very next morning he reembarked in perfect panic, as if a million men were on his track and fled as fast as boats would carry him to Fort Edward. He left behind him barrels of provisions by the hundreds, and vast quantities of baggage.

Montcalm
overjoyed

Montcalm was wild with delight at first, and sent home most intoxicated letters of his joy to his wife, and to his friend Doreil. He magnified the British to 25,000 men, and their losses to five thousand. "Ah, my dear Doreil," wrote he, "what soldiers are ours! I never saw the like. Why were they not at Louisbourg?"

As soon as Amherst heard of the disaster he proceeded with all speed from Louisbourg to Boston, and with 5,000 men marched across the country to Fort Edward. But by the time he reached it the autumn had come, the French had been reenforced, and it was plainly a risk to attempt an attack. Besides, Abercrombie's army was demoralized. The prestige of Montcalm was so great that the British regulars would be already beaten before they entered into the contest. Not so the provincials. They were furious at the retreat, and when they reached Fort Edward they wrote letters home that burned with chagrin and anger. So far as active warfare in the St. Lawrence valley is concerned, it was over for that season. Scouts and rangers had plenty to do, and some of their adventures were very interesting.

The
provincials
furious

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

THE EARLY ADVENTURES OF "OLD PUT."

ON one occasion, Rogers the Ranger was in command of an exploring force which included Major Israel Putnam of Connecticut. The whole party was ambuscaded by French and Indians under Marin, whom we have met before in Ohio and Acadia. The French had to retreat, but captured Putnam and took him with them. The adventures of this sturdy Connecticut yeoman in detail put those of the most thrilling cheap novel of the Indian West to blush. In fact, if we were not sure of the to-be major-general's veracity, we should suspect him of romancing. He was dragged through the forest, compelled to carry heavy loads, and at one time bound to a tree between the two fighting bands so that if by any good luck he failed to be shot in the back, he was reasonably sure of being hit in front. But he was "rescued" by his captors, who after they had almost killed him with the loads they made him carry, prepared, when they had reached their camp for the night, for a burning-at-the-stake party, with "Old Put." as chief actor. Just as they got the fire going well, and were licking their chops in anticipation, rain fell and dampened their fire and ardor. But the rain soon ceased, and they again piled high the fagots about the dignified major, and danced in a circle joyfully. Again was their fun spoiled, for Marin came upon the scene, kicked the fagots away from Putnam, unbound him, "roasted" the Indians instead of their captive, and turned him over to the chief who had captured him, according to Indian custom and law. That chief treated him kindly enough at first, but when he retired for the

Thrilling
as a
melodrama

Of escape from
the tree

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night, bound Putnam hand and foot, laid heavy boughs on him and two Indian braves on top of these, to make sure that he did not get away. The next day he was taken to Montcalm, who sent him to Montreal. There he found Schuyler also a captive, and these two future heroes of the American Revolution condoled with each other, and managed an exchange of prisoners, so that soon they were sent home. Thus endeth the first story of Israel.

FORT FRONTENAC TAKEN BY THE BRITISH

The
Imbecile on
both sides

THE year in that region was not to close in complete disaster for the English. Ticonderoga was a crushing blow, but there was something that lightened it somewhat. The Imbecile had been working overtime for the French. Now in French uniform he was to do much for the English.

Fort Frontenac, the reader will remember, was founded almost a hundred years before by La Salle, in honor of his friend and partner, the great governor. The fort had been a bone of contention between the French and English during all that century. But for it the English might have swept away every atom of French power and trade with the Indians of the whole Northwest. It was a vital fortress for the French, the most important outpost in New France. Yet in his zeal to concentrate troops about Quebec and Montreal, and in the St. Lawrence valley, after they were not needed there, Vaudreuil robbed Fort Frontenac until in the late summer English scouts heard that it contained only a nominal garrison. Then Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, who had conducted a masterly retreat from Oswego a few years before, proposed that Fron-

Bradstreet
sets out for
Oswego

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

tenac be taken. Bradstreet was a brave New England officer who died a major-general in the British army after a disastrous experience in the Ohio country. Abercrombie did have intelligence enough not to oppose him, and the expedition started on the old route to Oswego. Bradstreet had 3,000 men, chiefly provincials, and many of them were ill by the time (August 22) he reached Oswego, which Montcalm had captured and burned only two years before. But with over 1,500 men he embarked and sailed across Lake Ontario.

The fortress was practically defenseless. The commandant was Payan de Noyan, a gentleman of culture and poverty from France, who had been given this berth in order that he might shear enough sheep to pay his debts and have some means with which to resume his serene life in Paris. He had heard of Bradstreet's coming and sent an alarm to Vaudreuil, but the latter laughed at him, called him a coward, and sent him for reinforcements a one armed man! There were but one hundred men in the garrison, and resistance was useless. Bradstreet had brought cannon along, and promptly mounted them on a hill overlooking the fort. Noyan capitulated at once, and the English came into possession of great stores. What they could take with them, such as 60 pieces of artillery, furs, and provisions, they saved. But they burned the fort itself and nine large vessels. Too late Vaudreuil learned of the danger and started some men in haste, but they got only to Lachine when the news of the capture stopped them.

Old Noyan was overwhelmed with chagrin and sorrow. He had done all he could, and the catas-

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Vaudreuil's
duplicity

trophe was not his fault. The noble Vaudreuil consoled him, patted him on the back, and told him that he would "make it all right with the folks at home," which he did in characteristic fashion. He who was solely to blame for the disaster wrote to France that Noyan had played the coward and surrendered the fort without cause. The ministry did not seek further, but fastened on Noyan all the ignominy of the surrender, and when he returned to France and asked a rehearing it was not granted. This is the last we shall hear of Fort Frontenac for thirty years. The English did not rebuild it, and the line of settlement could not extend to it for many years. But in 1788 a band of Loyalists, exiled from the United States, fixed on this spot for their homes, and there founded Kingston, and also the present Province of Ontario. Here was destined to stand a strong centre of radical Canadians which was to play an important part in the next war with the United States.

Wolfe
pleased by
this stroke

The news of the taking of Frontenac cheered England and America. Wolfe, in his characteristic, epigrammatic way, wrote: "Frontenac is a great stroke. An offensive, daring kind of war will awe the Indians, and ruin the French." Not only did this victory ruin fur trading for the French, but it meant the loss of the greatest connecting link between Louisiana and Quebec, and the chief base for supplies and men for Fort Duquesne and the whole Ohio region. It was almost as damaging to New France as the loss of Louisbourg.

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

FORT DUQUESNE FAILS

Having learned the story of the fall of Frontenac, ^{The third movement} the reader is prepared for the success of the expedition against Fort Duquesne. This was the last of the three great movements of the year. It was commanded by General John Forbes, a Scotsman, who was as fit by mental equipment to command as he was unfit physically. He arrived in America in April, and expected to find his army ready for him. But the ways of the Southern provincials were past finding out. These Southern fire-eaters, as they were then and are still termed, were not, and are not to-day, half so ready for war as ^{Troops hard to} the quiet, conservative, peaceful New Englander. Forbes was to have 1,200 regulars and 4,350 colonials or provincials. Pennsylvania, although still quarreling over the Quakers and the Dutch, actually raised 2,500 men, about 1 in 10 of population. Virginia raised 1,200 and Maryland 270, but they were most inferior in quality, and provoked the rage of both Forbes and Washington. Mr A. G. Bradley in his admirable "The Fight with France for North America" enlarges on the unfitness of these men, and asks quite pertinently what the planters and squires were doing that they did not contribute men and money to this war to keep the Indians off their preserves. These squires were evidently selfish and cowardly, according to Mr. Bradley's view. He might have carried his inquiry further, and asked what they were doing in the Revolutionary War. But that might have been embarrassing to an honest Briton like Mr. Bradley, for these war-squires were almost all Loyalists to the backbone.

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A Moravian
missionary
sent to the
Indians

However, we shall see that this delay which so exasperated Washington and Forbes was the salvation of the expedition. For one thing it gave Forbes a chance to send an emissary to the Indians of and about Fort Duquesne. He knew that some of these tribes had formerly been friends of the English, and he believed that with a proper intermediary he could restore that status. The man chosen was Christian Frederic Post, a Moravian missionary, and he was sent ostensibly by the Governor of Pennsylvania to call the Indians to a conference at Easton, a conference which Forbes had arranged, although it was opposed by Sir William Johnson personally, because Johnson thought he ought to be the leader in all negotiations with the Indians. But of Post's movements more later.

The
wrangling
provincials

Forbes's expedition was delayed not only by the poor levies of provincials, but also by wrangling over the route. The Pennsylvanians wanted a new route in order to surprise Duquesne. This was at last decided upon in July. The base was Bedford, Pa., ninety miles from Duquesne, and at Carlisle Forbes remained during August, supervising the advance under Bouquet, the engineer. At length the advance reached Loyalhannon, nearly fifty miles from Fort Duquesne. There Major Grant of Montgomery's Highlanders asked permission to lead a small party, to check the movements of the French-Indian allies, who were making trouble continually by their sudden raids. Early in September Grant set out with 750 picked men, and proceeded without interruption until, by September 13, he was on the ridge still called Grant's Hill, overlooking the fort and but one-half mile distant. Just

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

exactly what Grant expected to gain from this expedition it is hard to know. That he woefully ^{Grant's folly} mismanaged it is apparent. His forward party got lost in the woods in the night, and, after trying to find a camp of Indians near the fort, returned to his headquarters. Grant was much incensed at this, but it would have been much better if his whole force had been able to return to the starting point. But, anxious to get a name and secure prisoners, he conceived the strategic plan of sounding the reveille in order to get a fight out of the men in the fort. He succeeded. The garrison came pouring out in such numbers as amazed Grant. By a misunderstanding of orders and his action in separating his force, Grant was overwhelmingly beaten. Captain Macdonald, the brave leader of his Highlanders, killed, and Grant himself captured. Out of the 750 men, 273 were killed, wounded, or captured. It was another beautiful example of military blundering. The French pursued Grant's force almost to Loyalhannon, and made attacks upon the scattered forces for some time, keeping the British pretty well frightened and fearful to make a forward movement.

Altogether the Forbes expedition was beginning to look very like that of Abercrombie. Forbes ^{Forbes indomitable} was ill of an incurable disease, and every movement gave him pain. But he was all pluck, and that was just what distinguished him from Abercrombie and his expedition from the other. He was carried to Loyalhannon, where the whole army had now assembled, including Washington, who had just arrived with his Virginians. November had come, cold rains had been falling, and the roads were bottom-

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

All the
men dis-
couraged

less pits of mud and water. Winter was almost at hand, all the men were discouraged, and some were ready to desert. A council of officers was held, and almost all, including Washington, advised the abandonment of the campaign. Forbes persisted, and would not take their advice. No decision was made, and the whole campaign waited for something to happen. It did. Some prisoners were brought in who declared the fort was practically defenseless. That decided Forbes, and forward was the command.

THE WONDERFUL WORK OF THE MORAVIAN

Post's
pluck and
sagacity

THINGS had really begun to turn against the French before this, but the English did not know it. The shift was largely due to Post's mission to the Indians. This Moravian missionary deserves to rank as one of America's early heroes, and that he was not a martyr was hardly his fault. Post had lived among the Delawares, spoke their language, and had married a squaw. He made his way to the Indian towns near Fort Duquesne, bearing to them the invitation of the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania to come to a conference to be held at Easton in September. In some places he was well received, in others threatened. One tribe suggested that he take his message to the Indians at the fort. This was a veritable invitation to death which he at first declined. But they insisted, and he had to yield. The French met his party and demanded that he be given up, but his escort refused. The French then tried to kill him, but he was careful and remained in the Indian camp near the fort. Soon he had the opportunity of addressing all the Indians

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

of the fort, and made an earnest plea, to which they listened for the most part with contempt. But so good an impression had he made on the Delawares that, in a council of the three tribes held a few days later, they agreed to attend the conference. But they were still fearful of Post. For a time they would not let him go, but at last he gained their consent, and, eluding some assassins who lay in wait for him, he regained civilization.

The peace convention was held at Easton in October. To it went delegates from the Five Nations of the Iroquois and the Delawares of the Susquehanna. The governor of Pennsylvania was present, and after several days' deliberation, much exchange of presents, and discussion of old grievances, a peace was arranged and a message of reconciliation sent to the Indians of the Ohio. Post was selected to carry this, and went to his task with some trepidation. French spies dogged his path; and his escort, on their return after leaving him, were cut to pieces by the Indians to whom he was sent. But Post persevered and succeeded at last. The Indians rejected the pleas of the French and deserted Duquesne in a body.

A real
peace
congress

FORT DUQUESNE ABANDONED

OTHER forces were working to the undoing of the French. Vaudreuil had assured Versailles that he would see to it that Duquesne was held, he would send ample reinforcements, etc. On the contrary, he weakened the fort in order to get more men to help defend Ticonderoga, so that the fort all summer was in a weak condition. But De Ligneris, the commandant, was a good soldier, and held his

Vaudreuil
weakens
Duquesne

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The Indians
tired of
inactivity

small force well in hand. The desertion of the Indians in November, just about the time Forbes was hesitating, was due to several causes besides the peace conference. The Indians were weary of no battle. They had been hoping for fights for six months, and had enjoyed nothing but the little brush with Grant's panic-stricken party. Inactivity bored the red man terribly, and if he could not fight he could at least go home and hunt. Then, too, supplies had failed, because of the English capture of Fort Frontenac, with its vast stores and provisions, many of them destined for Duquesne. When hungry the Indians were poor patriots, and the French also grew discouraged. As December was near and the British had made no advance for some time, De Ligneris was convinced that there would be no attack on him that winter, and he dismissed most of his force, leaving only a winter garrison of 300. Scarcely had the men started for Montreal and got beyond recall than he learned of the approach of Forbes. Even in the primitive forests communication was wonderfully quick. There was nothing for De Ligneris to do but abandon the post, blow up the fortifications, and throw the guns into the river. And so Fort Duquesne was taken without firing a shot.

A false
security

A bloodless
capture

The death
of Forbes

Forbes left a winter garrison in a rude stockade, it was renamed Fort Pitt, and he started homeward more dead than alive. He was carried in a litter all the way, reaching Philadelphia, January 14. He lingered until March, when he died, and was buried in Christ Church. The location of his grave is not certain. No eulogy is necessary over this brave man, whose spirit triumphed over his body. He

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

did his work with wonderful efficiency, and through it the American colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were rescued from the horrors of border Indian warfare, from which they had suffered agonies day and night for almost four years. The colonies built bonfires and rang bells as cheerily over his success as they did over Louisbourg. Indeed, it meant much more to them.

Washington returned with his Virginians in triumph. They had done no fighting, but their expedition had succeeded. He went to the Virginia House of Burgesses, whose slowness to respond to his calls for years had cut him deep and aroused that terrible anger which he almost always had under perfect control. There he was received with the utmost deference, and a vote of thanks was given him. The Speaker made a most eulogistic speech, and when Washington rose to reply he was too much astonished and moved to find his tongue. Then the Speaker made this historic utterance: "Sit down, Mr. Washington. Your modesty equals your valor."

Honors to
Washington

Washington's fighting days were over for a time—he thought for all time. He soon married the fair and wealthy Mrs. Custis, and retired to live the life of a wealthy planter and gentleman at Mount Vernon, in some respects then and now one of the most beautiful sites in all the New World.

Thus the year, which opened so badly with Abercrombie's fiasco before Ticonderoga, closed with brilliant success for the English cause. In Europe, too, important victories attended British arms. Pitt could feel the greatest satisfaction any statesman can have—deserved success. He began to believe,

Pitt's happy
days

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Money,
men, and
the man

and so did all the world, that nothing now could save New France. When he began this war he could find neither soldiers, leaders, nor a treasury to back the war. The force of his enthusiasm and eloquence brought forth the taxes that made enlistment possible. Now, with Wolfe at hand, he felt that he had all his wants filled—money, men, and the man.

FRANCE REFUSES TO HELP CANADA

Vaudreuil
ruins
Montcalm's
hopes

MEANWHILE could he have known what was going on in New France, he would have been amused and encouraged. Vaudreuil wrote a report of Ticonderoga, in which Montcalm was charged with blundering and especially blamed for allowing the English to escape. He kept up this absurd and infamous conduct, begging that the minister ask for Montcalm's recall. Montcalm, after returning from Ticonderoga, tried to bring about a reconciliation, but all to no effect. The governor persisted in his mad course until Montcalm actually resigned; then he heard of the capture of Fort Frontenac, and withdrew his resignation, determined to fight and die for New France, which he now saw was tottering and ready to fall. The nobility of his character was never better shown than in those sad, bitter months after his great triumph at Ticonderoga. The only thing that could save the country now was generous aid from France. Bougainville and Doreil were sent home by Montcalm to secure that assistance. Vaudreuil sent with them credentials and letters to the colonial minister, praising them in the highest terms, but writing secretly to the minister at the same time to take no stock

MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH AT TICONDEROGA

in them, because they were "tools of Montcalm." The envoys managed to elude the British ships, presented their letters, and urged their cause. Of course, after Vaudreuil's duplicity, they failed. Montcalm and his generals were loaded down with honors, Montcalm being made a lieutenant-general, but no substantial aid in troops and equipment was sent. Canada was abandoned and left to fight alone. The king asked only of Montcalm that he should save some spot on which to maintain French authority and possession, so that in treaty-making after the war he could have something to build a claim upon. Montcalm, thus deserted, determined to justify the hopes of the king. He prepared to defend Quebec at all hazards, for the whole world knew that the next step would be the English attempt at its conquest.

WOLFE ACCEPTS THE QUEBEC COMMAND

AFTER Wolfe's unpleasant task of despoiling the homes of the French settlers on the Gaspé Peninsula, he set sail for England. On the same boat with him went the recalled and disgraced Abercrombie. The reader can draw his own contrasts. Wolfe did not know that he was to command the expedition against Quebec, nor was that appointment regarded as certain in England. Colonel William Wood, in his admirable book, "The Fight for Canada," shows that the current idea that Wolfe was promoted purely on his merits and had no "pull" is not quite correct. It is true he relied chiefly on his record, but he had some very influential friends at work for him, including his father, Colonel Napier, Lord George Sackville, and the

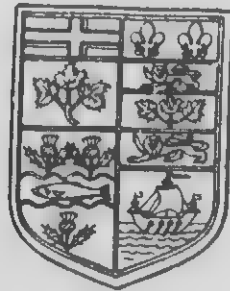
Canada left
to fight
alone

Wolfe's
promotion
not wholly
by merit

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Wolfe
engaged to
Miss
Lowther

Duke of Cumberland. He was at home but a short while, yet found time to become engaged to Miss Katherine Lowther, sister to Lord Lonsdale and afterward Duchess of Bolton. In December he received from Pitt the offer of the Quebec command, and promptly accepted. The destruction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the junction of the attacking force with Wolfe at Quebec, was to be effected by Amherst, who was nominally in command of all the British troops in North America. The taking of Niagara was assigned to Prideaux.



CHAPTER XXIX

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

WOLFE'S rank now was merely that of colonel, but in the St. Lawrence River campaign of 1759 he was given the brevet rank of major-general. His brigadiers were Monckton, Townshend, and Murray. Townshend's appointment was thought to be a mistake, as he held himself above Wolfe on the ground of higher social position. Wolfe was to have 12,000 men, but the actual number of soldiers who gathered at Louisbourg before the start for Quebec was 8,500. But small as was the force, it was admirably drilled, and kept in perfect physical condition. He peremptorily got rid of any weak or sickly men, and carried his scrutiny of detail down almost to the point of ridiculousness. The result was a superbly equipped and prepared army. Although he had left England in February, it was June before he was sailing from Louisbourg, on his way to Quebec. The thoroughness of the drill he gave his men at Louisbourg is proof positive of his sterling qualities as disciplinarian and student. Like Montcalm, he had a temper, and was likely to blurt out what was in his mind. His slighting references to the provincial troops at Louisbourg is a case in point. These sharp remarks and his dashing campaigns incline us to forget the thoroughness

Wolfe
perfecting
his army

His sterling
qualities

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Wolfe's
force

with which he worked, and that he was a soldier through and through. The force which Wolfe was leading to Quebec consisted, including provincials, of but 8,500 soldiers, but in Saunders's fleet were 18,000 men. Any one who has studied the campaign critically will see that it was not only Wolfe's 8,500 but also Saunders's 18,000 that brought victory.

MONTCALM'S PREPARATIONS

The natural
strength of
Quebec

MEANWHILE Montcalm had heard of the start of Wolfe from Louisbourg, and used every energy to make Quebec and its approaches impregnable. Colonel Wood points out that Quebec was then not really a fort at all, that it had never been actually fortified, and reliance had always been placed on its natural strength as a rock. Still, walls had been built about it by Frontenac and attempts had been made in the half-century later to strengthen these walls, but without much success. The position of the rock was so strong that the necessity of great walls had never seemed urgent. South of the rock stretched the St. Lawrence, north of it was the valley of the St. Charles River. East were the flats of Beauport and west were the Plains of Abraham. Precipices lay before Quebec on three sides, and only on the west side could it be approached on a level with the city. How to get to that west side was the puzzle which had confronted the city's enemies for a century.

Montcalm had 17,000 troops, 4,000 of whom were French regulars and seamen. He could, of course, make no permanent disposition of his troops, but he awaited Wolfe's coming with an admirable ar-

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

rangement. The Chevalier de Ramesay was commandant of the city, with 2,000 men. The remainder of the army stretched along the coast, from the river St. Charles to the mouth of the Montmorency. Montcalm's headquarters were at Beauport, about the centre of the line; Lévis commanded the left, Senezergues the centre, and Dumas the right. The cliffs west of the city, bordering on the St. Lawrence, were, of course, guarded to prevent a landing. No defenses were placed in the Lower Town, for the people there could be expected to be on the watch for any landing party; floating batteries, too, had been placed along the water-front. So far Montcalm had seen his wishes carried out. But Vaudreuil interfered when he proposed to plant batteries on the heights of Levy. It is asserted that Vaudreuil did not believe the British guns could reach the Lower Town, and that he objected to dividing the force. As the distance was but 1,400 to 1,800 yards, his first objection was absurd; the second was only plausible. It was a serious blunder, as we shall see. Otherwise the preparations were excellent, and Montcalm had reason to be, perhaps not confident of victory, but ready for the contest, and very hopeful. One advantage, however, he could not now rely upon, the inefficiency of his opposing general. Against him was matched a man of as superb military genius as himself, supreme in his command, and of intrepid bravery and brilliance.

Pitt had arranged well for the stopping of relief from France for Quebec. Admiral Durrell had been cruising about the mouth of the St. Lawrence to prevent any supply ships from entering the river.

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Some did indeed slip through, but he got several prizes, and the colony knew it could get no help from France.

THE BEAUTIFUL CITY OF QUEBEC

The Quebec
of to-day

THE city of Quebec is unique on the American continent. More and more tourists visit it year by year, charmed by its quaintness and beauty. The scene on the broad Dufferin Terrace any summer night when the band is playing can not be duplicated anywhere else on this side of the Atlantic. The antique and delightful Lower Town, with its twinkling lights, lies just beneath, and beyond it stretches the majestic St. Lawrence, while still further beyond tower the heights of Lévis, and lower in the distance the shadowy outlines of Île d'Orleans. The terrace, flanked by the great Champlain statue and the beautiful Château Frontenac, leads to the Citadel and the famous walk below the walls. This is the setting, and the figures are the promenaders. All Quebec is there, and in motion. Passing and repassing are all sorts and conditions of men and women. Jean-Baptiste, from the Lower Town, is surely there with his dark-eyed sweetheart or wife; so are the smart Canadian Tommies with their "dinky" caps, inevitable canes, and scarlet coats, the students of Laval University, with long dark coats and green sashes, and tourists from the States and almost every other land. All are gay and inspired by the beauty of the scene and their own quickened life. Yet lively and jolly as is Quebec of to-day, few there be in all the promenaders whose minds do not revert to a battle on the heights not far away, whose commemorative monument casts its shadow

Lively and
jolly
Quebec

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

upon this brilliant scene. The Plains of Abraham are invested with an interest and a romance almost unknown to American battlefields. Here was fought one of the most decisive battles of the world, and its story will never cease to have a peculiar fascination for Americans, whether under the Union Jack or the Star-Spangled Banner.

The legend of Wolfe and Gray's "Elegy," that dashing ascent of the precipitous cliff, the heroic though vain resistance of Montcalm, and the supremely dramatic fact of both generals mortally stricken at almost the same moment—these circumstances have fixed that battle in the mind of every schoolboy who could not yet feel its vast political, religious, and ethnic significance. We are now to have the delight of telling and reading again that enchanting story, some details and recently discovered facts adding something to the always keen interest of the tale.

Legend of
Wolfe and
Gray's
"Elegy"

THE SAFE ARRIVAL OF THE FLEET

It was now the middle of June, and the great fleet and the little army were on their way from Louisbourg. The first ship left June 1, and the others followed rapidly. There were 39 men-of-war, 10 auxiliaries, 76 transports, and 152 small craft. The successful passage of this enormous number of ships up the St. Lawrence with its baffling currents and tides, was a remarkable achievement. French pilots were lured on board by a trick, and performed their work fairly well. But the British officers were constantly on the alert with their soundings, and exercised that eighteenth century seamanship for which they were well famous. Also, and most important, they encoun-

The St.
Lawrence
conquered

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Cook, the
circum-
navigator

tered no storms. In this respect the fleet was most fortunate, and this condition was regarded as the happiest omen for the expedition. The sounding boats which preceded the fleet were commanded by Captain James Cook, afterward known to history as the first circumnavigator of the earth. The French did not believe the heavy warships could ever make their way through the treacherous currents, tides, and shoals, and were thunderstruck when on June 26 the fleet anchored at the lower end of the Island of Orleans. The army landed at St. Laurent the next day. That very night a heavy gale blew and several small boats were sunk. If that gale had come two days earlier our story might have been very different; but this is only one of the many "ifs" with which one is met in studying the progress of this campaign.

Fire ships
that failed

That night Vaudreuil made his first movement. He sent seven fire ships down the river to burn the English fleet. These blazing vessels caused great trepidation at first, but they were badly manned, and burned up long before they reached the fleet. One was commanded by a brave and able officer, Milletière, but his ship caught fire from the others, which had been fired prematurely, and he was burned to death. The only result of this affair was to raise the hearts of the English, depress the French, and enrich Bigot and Cadet, who charged the king the outrageous price of 80,000 livres each for the ships.

Wolfe
occupies
Point Levy

For the next few days nothing of very great importance occurred. Wolfe was studying the country and his maps. He made a landing at Beaumont on the 29th, in preparation for fortifying Point Levy.



MONUMENT TO WOLFE AND MONTCALM, QUEBEC

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Wolfe's
bombastic
proclama-
tion

This Montcalm plainly saw, and on July 2d he again urged Vaudreuil that he be allowed to occupy Point Levy, but again Vaudreuil refused. On the next day Wolfe occupied it. Before doing this he issued a somewhat bombastic proclamation to the Canadians, calling upon them to be neutral in this crisis, otherwise they would be treated as enemies and their homes and persons destroyed.

The fortifying of Point Levy proceeded briskly, in spite of the heavy fire from the town, and soon Wolfe stood on the heights and praised the men for their good work. Securing this point seems a most obvious move, and it is singular that Phips did not attempt it, that worthy employing the absurd movement of sailing his ships in front of the city and trying to destroy the heights by firing up at them. Wolfe's guns, to be sure, could not reach the guns of the city, but they could strike some of the buildings in the Upper Town, and could utterly demolish the Lower Town and send its inhabitants into hysterics, a thing most important in dealing with a people so afflicted with nerves. And that is just what happened. The Cathedral was set on fire and ruined, and many dwellings were smashed or burned. Chaos and terror reigned, and the cries of the frightened and homeless inhabitants of the Lower Town who poured into the city above, did much to demoralize and stampede the people and garrison. How much more valuable this coign of vantage, Point Levy, would have been to the French in preventing the British fleet or convoy from passing up stream! This Vaudreuil saw when it was too late, and gave permission for an attempt to regain the heights. A thousand men

Vaudreuil's
after-
thought

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

and boys went across one dark night, but got confused, fired at one another, ran helter-skelter for the boats, and returned in a panic, disgraced.

The French line ended at the Falls of Montmorency. It was impossible to land at any point covered by the French intrenchments, so Wolfe on July 9 landed just below the falls on the beach, which lies there now as it did then. It was his purpose to go up the Montmorency River, find a ford somewhere and fall upon the French in the flank or rear. Meanwhile the French did nothing but watch. It was the Fabian policy which Montcalm played so well, and which Washington followed with success in the American Revolution.

Wolfe was also trying other things, making divers experiments. He sent two forces up the St. Lawrence to see if the heights could be scaled. One of these forces did land at Pointe aux Trembles, 22 miles above the town, too remote to be of any value. But it opened Montcalm's eyes to the danger of a landing much nearer the city, and he detailed Bougainville with a body of men to patrol the heights in that direction. Bougainville's failure, at the crisis, through no fault of his own, is one of the most heartbreaking incidents of the campaign.

Military experts generally excuse Wolfe for not taking up the cliff proposition from the first. They point out that it would have been dangerous to attempt to take all those vessels up the river through the narrows and between Point Levy and Quebec, and they insist that a direct campaign for the cliff ascent, or any evidence of a central campaign beyond the city, would have made success impossible. Possibly these critics are right. Of that later on. It

Wolfe
lands below
the falls

Bougain-
ville set to
watch

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

is well to bear their views in mind when we trace the progress of Wolfe's campaign.

Wolfe's first
reconnais-
sance

He purposed from the first to get behind Montcalm in some way and thus lure him into an engagement, defeat him, and so fight his way into the city from the north. But how to get in behind Montcalm? He tried to find a ford across the Montmorency above the cataract, and a reconnaissance in force five miles up stream on July 25 resulted in an engagement in which the British lost 55 in killed and wounded, and the French only 18.

WOLFE'S FIRST GENERAL ATTACK

Trying to
carry the
Mont-
morency
Heights,
July 31

A few days later, July 31, Wolfe made the famous attempt to carry the Montmorency Heights by storm. The scene of that battle remains to-day almost exactly as it was then. Wolfe's headquarters (looking from the river) were at the right of the Falls, while on the left on the flats, a mile distant, stood French redouts. Above these on the ridge, or heights, were stationed musketry and cannon, which the British could not see, but knew were there. The only ford of the Montmorency of any proximity to the French was just below the cataract when there was low tide. Wolfe's general plan of battle was to cross that ford, and, in conjunction with a landing from the fleet, attack the redouts and then storm the heights. To one who stands upon that ground and looks upon those heights the proposition of storming them appears very like the scheme of a madman. Colonel Wood, whom I have often quoted and whose narrative¹ I am pretty

¹ "The Fight for Canada," by William Wood, Lieutenant-Colonel of 8th Royal Rifles, Canadian Militia.

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

closely following at this point, admits that the scheme might not have been successful even had all the untoward incidents and accidents and blunders been removed. I think he is too mild with Wolfe there. But let us anticipate the story no longer.

Wolfe's first feint that morning was with a regiment under Townshend, which he sent up the Montmorency, as if again searching for the upper ford. Another regiment was sent westward from Point Levy, as if to land on the north shore. These were excellent manoeuvres, well calculated to perplex the enemy. About ten o'clock a brigade under Monckton left Point Levy and was stationed off the island of Orleans. Three vessels then ran near shore opposite the falls and opened fire on the redout on the flats. At the same time the British artillery at the left of the falls began to attack the redouts and tried to enfilade the intrenchments above. Montcalm, naturally, was not idle all this time. Lévis was in command on the left, and he was reenforced by Montcalm, and a very spirited and damaging fire poured upon the British ships, so that they had to move out of range. At length, about three o'clock, when low tide came, the advance was ordered. Murray and Townshend, from their position near the falls, were ordered to cross the fords there, and Wolfe with Monckton began to land.

The shoals naturally impeded some of the boats, but the Grenadiers got off pretty well together and started for the front. They had been ordered to form in four bodies and lead the advance on the redout, but they became too anxious, and, in a hurry to get into the contest, rushed forward with-

The
English
manoeuvres

The
precipitous
Grenadiers

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The
English
caught in
a trap

out any formation whatever. The redout was promptly evacuated by the French, who retreated to the heights. When the Grenadiers reached the redout, without more than a moment's pause they started after the fleeing French as if this were a foot-race. The French, in their intrenchments above, had, of course, the exact range of the redout, and poured upon it, when the British reached it, a terrible fire. So did they fire with musketry most deadly and accurate volleys upon the Grenadiers attempting to scale the heights. Meanwhile the troops under Townshend and Murray had crossed the fords and were advancing to join the remainder of Monckton's force, which was coming up in good order. But the elements were fighting against the British, a storm burst with torrents of rain, making most difficult any attempt to scale those heights in the mud; the tide was coming in rapidly, and soon the whole force would be marooned there, with terrible loss of life. So Wolfe ordered a retreat. This was accomplished in excellent order, the two brigades from Montmorency waving their hats at the French and daring them to come down and fight, and the other forces returning by their boats to the island and Point Levy. This fiasco resulted in the loss of 30 British officers and 420 men, while the French loss was but 66.

The retreat
of Wolfe's
soldiers

Who was
to blame for
the fiasco?

Wolfe does not seem to me to have shown the proper spirit over the affair. In his General Orders of the next day he scathingly rebukes the "impetuous, irregular, and unsoldierlike proceedings" of the Grenadiers, which "put it out of the general's power to execute his plan." True, but he was more to blame than they. In his despatches home, however,

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he acknowledges his own mistake in placing his vessels at high tide so as to indicate where the attack was to be made and then waiting for low tide to make it. This gave the enemy plenty of time to prepare for it. Of course he hoped they might think that attack by the ships a feint and the other movements west of Point Levy or up the Montmorency the real thing. On the whole, it seems to me that the plan was unworkable, except in the case of a panic among the French, and Wolfe ought to have known that behind intrenchments and with Montcalm as general, the French were not likely to be stampeded. I must confess I regard this attack as almost as huge a blunder as Abercrombie's at Ticonderoga, with the significant differences that Wolfe commanded a retreat promptly and that he stayed on the ground prepared to fight in some other way. The French were much elated over this engagement, and anticipated the speedy retirement of the British from the siege.

CHIVALRY GONE TO SEED

AN incident of this fight which is always told may be given here, but not as it is usually phrased. Captain Ochterloney of the Grenadiers was shot through the lungs and fell; close behind him fell Lieutenant Peyton, shot in the leg. Ochterloney, who seemed to be made of that false chivalry very abundant at that time, refused to allow the Highlanders on the retreat to carry him to the rear after such a shameful defeat, and Peyton, apparently full of odd devotion, would not leave his captain. So they were left together in the rain, to die among the dead. Soon a Canadian soldier and two Indians

Wolfe's

plan

unworkable

An incident

on a

deserted

battlefield

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Indians
start to
scalp the
captain

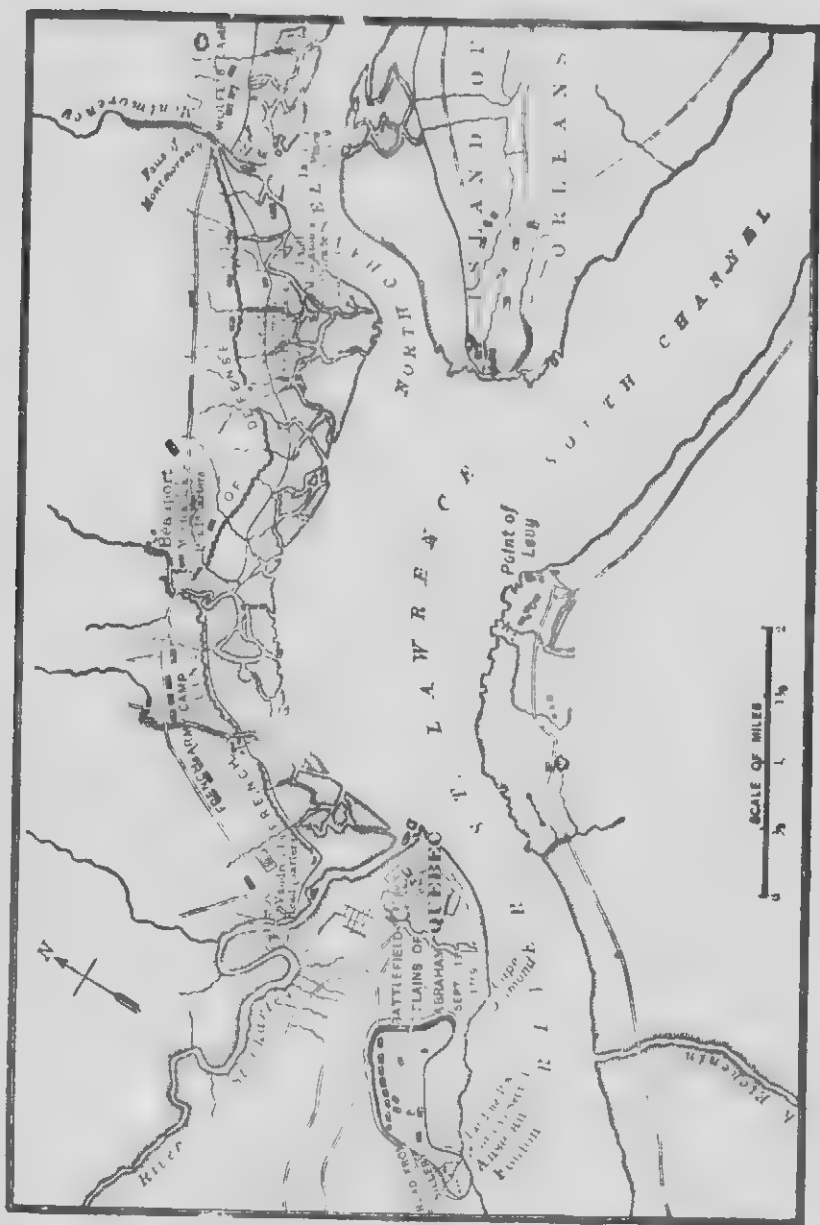
A furious
struggle

Wolfe
despondent

came along, and Ochterloney offered to surrender as a prisoner of war (although why that was more honorable than to be carried back with his soldiers a layman can not see). But the Canadian merely robbed him and left him to the tender mercy of the Indians, who started in to scalp him after having shot and clubbed him, to be sure he was not dangerous. The gorge rose in Peyton at such a cowardly murder, and he crawled to a double barreled musket (or a revolver, as one account has it) and killed one Indian, but missed the other. This fellow then attempted to kill Peyton with his musket, and the latter defended himself with his dagger. That looks like a very unequal struggle, but, as Peyton told the story, it was a furious fight until he stabbed the Indian twice deeply in the side and killed him. Another scalping party came up, and Peyton expected to be done for now, but at the same time some of his own Highlanders, looking for wounded, arrived, and took him back to the island, he then interposing no foolish objections. Why they did not take Ochterloney does not appear, but he was borne by a French officer to the General Hospital in Quebec. There, tenderly cared for by the nuns, he lingered until the end of August. The guns of both sides ceased firing during his funeral. A good many nice civilities and courtesies were exchanged on his account, but to the common-sense observer of to-day the whole pretty affair seems like merely the interesting aftermath of folly and pseudo pride on the part of two English officers.

By this time Wolfe had begun to be despondent as to the result of the campaign. He seemed to see himself going home, not exactly in disgrace, as

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE



MAP OF WOLFE'S CAPTURE OF QUEBEC

THE TERCENTNARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Wolfe longed
for news
from
Amherst

Abercrombie did, but as an exploded genius and a failure. At the same time he was longing for news from Amherst, who was to come up the Champlain route, take Montreal, and join Wolfe to take Quebec. Amherst never came. No expedition by that route even penetrated Canada until after Quebec fell. Soon Wolfe began to receive news that gave him no hope of succor from Amherst. The story of that expedition may be as well told here, for during August there was little but marking time in and about Quebec.

AMHERST CHECKED

The usual
delay in
starting

AMHERST had the usual trouble of getting his troops together early enough. Two armies gathered at Albany, one of 11,000 under Amherst and a smaller one under Colonel Prideaux, whose mission was to take Niagara, the only remaining French post on the Great Lakes. It was July 20 before Amherst with his gay army floated down Lake George. He expected to have to take that same redout which baffled Abercrombie, but Bourlamaque was too wise to try that trick again, and he knew that Amherst was not Abercrombie. So he took his 4,000 men to Ticonderoga itself, and Amherst began to prepare for a siege against the stone fort. Perhaps the French could have held it, but they were under orders from Vaudreuil to retreat. So, after an exchange of shots, they abandoned it on the night of the 26th and blew it up. Amherst was astonished then, and still more astonished to find Crown Point deserted a few days afterward. For Bourlamaque had taken his position at the head of Lake Champlain, there to await the British, making his stand

The French
abandon
Ticon-
deroga

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

at Île-aux-Noix. Amherst thought that was making pretty rapid progress for the British, but when he reached Crown Point he "struck a snag." Amherst had not started out on a naval expedition, and so deficient was his secret service that he did not know of the presence of four armed French vessels on Lake Champlain. Those little boats completely blocked Amherst's plans and effectually prevented his junction with Wolfe. Possibly he proceeded too deliberately, possibly he might have marched around the lake and reached Bourlamaque's position by land, but the general verdict is that his action, while slow and deficient in general planning, was excusable. He had to build there an armed sloop with which to fight the French ships and clear the way for his advance. His equipment for shipbuilding, as may be imagined, was not first-class, and the weeks and months dragged along before he was ready to initiate any movement. Meanwhile he built a new fort at Crown Point and small forts about it; he widened and improved the roads, and sent out various exploring parties.

Bourla-
maque's
boats
Amherst

NIAGARA TAKEN BY THE BRITISH

LEAVING him there, we will follow another expedition, one that did something for British arms and contained an interesting story. Prideaux had been ordered to capture Niagara. The size of the army given him—5,000 men—shows how earnest England was in this war. In June Prideaux went first to Oswego by the old Mohawk route. There he reestablished the old fort and left Col. Haldimand in charge with about 2,000 men. That was a wise plan, for if, while he was taking Niagara, the French

Prideaux's
wise plans

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

La Corne
tries to take
Oswego

should reoccupy Oswego, Prideaux would have all his work to do over again. The French did attempt that very thing. Under La Corne about 1,000 French and Indians attacked Haldimand early in July, surprised him while he was getting materials together to build a fort, and a pretty little fight ensued. But La Corne was defeated, himself wounded, and the party scattered. Haldimand we shall see later as governor of Canada during the latter part of the Revolutionary War.

A picture
esque en
gagement

Prideaux meanwhile had reached Niagara and begun its siege. The stronghold was defended by 600 men under Captain Pouchot of the French regulars, a capable, brave officer. He was taken completely by surprise when the British appeared, and at once he sent couriers into the Ohio country, where at Presqu'Île and several other small posts were gathered some of the most famous partizan leaders of the West and many Indians allied with the French. They had come, some of them, from Detroit to recover Fort Duquesne, and were preparing to undo the work of Forbes and Washington when the summons of Pouchot reached them. Meanwhile the siege was proceeding in regular form and with deadly effect. Prideaux did not live to see his victory, for among the shots from the cannon, on July 20, was a shell which exploded prematurely and killed him. Sir William Johnson, the noted Indian organizer, took his place. Day after day the effect of the cannonading became more apparent. At length Pouchot realized that unless help came soon, he must surrender from pure exhaustion. Then he heard shots which showed his friends were at hand. A lively battle ensued. Indians

Prideaux
killed

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fighting on both sides. Pouchot dared not attempt a sortie, but had to content himself with watching the battle, which the disposition of the forces and of the ground permitted him to do. It was fought on a cleared space just below the falls, and demonstrated, as was to be shown as clearly on the Plains of Abraham, the immense superiority of the British over the French in open battle. These *courcours de bois*, Indians and half savages, were at home in the woods but lost on the plains, and after an hour's fighting they retreated in a panic. Their chiefs tried to restrain them, but were themselves captured or killed. The rank and file fled to their canoes, and, after burning the posts they had come to protect, returned to Detroit and the Northwest, leaving the whole West in the hands of the English.

Johnson found himself in possession of some of the great leaders whose names are familiar to us. There were Ligneris, Marin, Villiers, Aubry, and Martigay. Some authorities give Repentigny, but as he was with Lévis in Quebec in July, this must be an error. Nothing could now save the fort, and it was surrendered on July 25. The garrison was sent to New York and then to France. General Stanwix, who had built a fort at the carrying-place on the way to Oswego, now marched to the site of Fort Duquesne, and built and equipped Fort Pitt.

BOTH SIDES AT QUEBEC DISCOURAGED

RETURNING NOW to Quebec, we find both French and British discouraged and unhappy. Tactically the French were in much the better condition. They had repulsed the enemy at every point, and all they needed to win a victory was to keep the enemy off.

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Quebec
badly
shattered

But the city was in a fearful condition from the effects of the British cannon shots from Point Levy and from the scarcity of food. The whole Lower Town was in ruins, among the first buildings to be shattered being the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires, erected to commemorate the defeat of Phips. The multitude, hungry and homeless, surged into the Upper Town and their distress and piteous pleas helped in the demoralization of the garrison. But the officers were generally confident and cheerful. Montcalm and Vaudreuil almost believed the contest at an end, and the former wrote the most enthusiastic letters home to his wife and mother.

The
British dis-
couraged

On the English side the general and his brigadiers were nearly at their wits' end. They conferred again and again, but the failure of July 31 gave them no courage to try again. There was not so much sickness and shortage of provisions as among the French, but the loss by battle had been one-tenth of the whole army, which at its largest was a small force. Meanwhile the little skirmishes were all in favor of the French. About this time Wolfe began his firebrand crusade among the habitants. Because they fired continually upon his officers he laid waste all the farmhouses in that whole region, and drove the habitants to the city already filled and half-starved. In this work an officer, Captain Montgomery of the 43d, was active, and he stained the name of his country still more by murdering some of his prisoners, Canadians who had defied the British troops. This Montgomery was a brother of General Montgomery, then in the British army, but who joined the Americans in the Revolution and fell leading the attack upon Quebec, December 31,

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1775. Other incidents occurred spasmodically during this month, but nothing important actually happened. Wolfe was taken ill August 20, and lay in hospital sick in mind and body for about ten days. On August 31 he wrote this last letter to his mother:

"31 Augt. 1759

"BANKS OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE

"My writing to you will convince you that no personal toils (worse than defeats and disappointments) have fallen upon me; the enemy puts nothing to risk, and I can't in consequence put the whole army to risk. My antagonist has wisely shut himself up in inaccessible intrenchments, so that I can't get at him, without spilling a torrent of blood, and that perhaps to little purpose. The Marquis de Montcalm is at the head of a great number of bad soldiers and I am at the head of a small number of good ones, that wish for nothing so much as to fight him; but the wary old fellow avoids an action, doubtful of the behaviour of his army. People must be of the profession to understand the disadvantages and difficulties we labour under, arising from the uncommon natural strength of the country. I approve entirely of my Father's disposition of his affairs, though perhaps it may interfere a little with my plan of quitting the service, which I am determined to do the first opportunity; I mean so as not to be absolutely distressed in circumstances; nor burdensome to you or anybody else. I wish you much health, and am, Dear Madam, yr. obedient and affectionate son,

*Last letter
to his
mother*

"JAMES WOLFE."

THE BRIGADIERS DECIDE

Two days before this, while still ill, he made up his mind to take some forward step and end all in victory or defeat. He sent a note to Monckton, setting forth three plans of campaign: 1. To ford

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

the Montmorency far above the falls, and come upon the French from the rear, accompanying that attack with one from the beach. 2. To cross the ford below the falls at night, and attack near Beauport village. 3. To make a general attack on Beauport from Montmorency before dawn.

Wolfe's
plans
rejected

Monckton and the other brigadiers replied the next day. They objected to Wolfe's plans, chiefly on the ground that even if the first point were gained the St. Charles would have to be carried and after that the city itself must be taken by a battle against heights. They submitted the alternative proposition, a landing about 20 miles above the city, which had been in Wolfe's mind from the first.

Maneu-
vres to
deceive
the French

This plan Wolfe promptly accepted and set about realizing. It was necessary that the enemy gain no foreknowledge of his intention, and so every step from that time onward was taken with great care and secrecy. The first movement was the removal of the headquarters and the army from Montmorency. This occupied four days and was shielded from detection by feints from the fleet above Cap Rouge, by more pounding of the helpless town from the Levy batteries, and by a feint at the Beauport shore. The artillery was conveyed to the Island and the troops to the Island and Levy. When the fact of the withdrawal was known to the French, nearly all interpreted it as a signal for the departure and retreat of the British. And indeed it was that, in a measure. For if the attempt to gain the heights had failed, Wolfe had made his plans for a prompt return to England. He was in wretched health and knew his days were numbered. He told his physicians that he did not expect them to help him per-

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manently, but only to patch him up for a few days; Lévis
after that he did not care. Just at that time Bour-
lamaque sent such alarming news to Montcalm of the
approach of Amherst that Lévis was sent with 1,000
men to assist in holding Montreal. Either this mes-
sage from Bourlamaque was slow in reaching him
or Montcalm had delayed sending him help until he
felt he could spare it, for by this time Amherst had
sat down at Crown Point to do nothing but await
the building of his navy. It was a costly absence,
was Lévis's, to Montcalm.

The plan of the brigadiers was to land at some
point between Cap Rouge and Pointe aux Trembles,
the former nine miles and the latter twenty-two miles
above the city. With that end in view, most of
Wolfe's army was placed on board the ships, and
taken up the river. Of course Montcalm could not
in a few days learn this fact. The troops were kept
secluded and while he suspected an attack on his
right and above the city, and on September 5 sent the
regiment of Guienne to Bougainville to assist in the
patrol and defense, he still believed another assault
was intended either at Beauport or in that region.
Meanwhile the British were reconnoitring the shore
between Cap Rouge and Pointe aux Trembles, and
at length decided to make a landing at the latter
place on the 9th. But a heavy rain set in, making
that plan impossible. By this time the condition of
the men on the transports was uncomfortable owing
to the crowding, so Wolfe ordered that during the
day they should be left at St. Nicholas, and at night
reembark there and sail to Pointe aux Trembles.

Lévis
leaves to
help Bour-
lamaque

British
troops
taken up
the river

Landing
postponed

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WOLFE CHOSE THE FOULON

The
heights to
be scaled

Only two
miles from
the city

Wolfe's
sagacious
tactics

UP to the 9th the entire matter of the selection of the point to be attacked seemed to be in the hands of the brigadiers. It was they who had selected the place for landing on the 9th which the rain vetoed. But on the 10th Wolfe became master again, and it was on that day that the immortal path was selected. Accompanied by his brigadiers, all disguised as Grenadiers, he made a careful survey of the whole shore. Probably his maps had given him the location of all passages, but his quick eye fastened upon the Anse-au-Foulon as a favorable route. It was only two miles from Quebec, about one-fourth way to Cap Rouge, the nearest place his brigadiers had dreamed of landing, for they believed these nearer paths were too well guarded. Wolfe said nothing of his decision then to any one. The future of Quebec depended upon his silence, for had the faintest suspicion that he meant to land there reached Montcalm, the result could have been only ruinous to Wolfe's army. That heavy rain which prevented the landing on the 9th was only one of a series of circumstances which seem most providential.

Wolfe's plan was a shrewd and comprehensive one. First he ordered the remainder of his army to march from Point Levy along the south shore and cooperate with him, making about 5,000 men for the expedition. Then he directed that at Beauport Admiral Saunders should make a feint at attacking on the night of the 12th, at the same time the Point Levy batteries were pounding the city, and ships were gathered as if to land at Pointe aux Trembles. If there had been a telegraph in those days, Mont-

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calm would have known of these simultaneous movements and guessed that still a fourth was meditated.

Meanwhile Wolfe, having selected his path and the date, the 13th, made detailed preparations for the attack. He issued orders giving points of embarkation, distribution of force, commands, etc., but saying not a word of the point of debarkation. After issuing the final orders on the night of the 12th, he retired to his cabin with his friend Jarvis, destined to great naval fame in later years. There they talked over the plans for the morrow, and Wolfe gave to him for safe-keeping his will, notebook, and the miniature of Miss Lowther, his fiancée. While they were talking a joint note from the three brigadiers was handed him, asking where the attack was to be delivered. One can imagine the frame of

The
brigadiers
ask for
light

and in which these three officers were—undoubtedly 'plexe' and righteously indignant. They were probably grumbling thus to one another: "Here we are: We planned this campaign, rejecting the commander's, and he is carrying out our suggestions, yet will not let us know the chief fact of all—where we are to land." One can not help sympathizing with that view, while recognizing Wolfe's wisdom in keeping his intentions secret. He replied promptly, gently rebuking them, but giving them what they asked.

The troops at St. Nicholas had been sent on board the ships on the morning of the 12th, and were all ready, the troops from the Island and Point Levy were brought up and camped that night nearly opposite the Foulon so that they could be brought across as soon as the landing was known to be a success. The vessels in the river above the city

Ships
menace
Trembles

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Montcalm
expected
attack at
Beauport

were in constant motion all day long worrying and perplexing Bougainville mightily. That night when they all united as if manœuvring to land at Pointe aux Trembles, Bougainville thought he could not be mistaken. Each day up and down with the tide the troop-laden ships of the British had drifted, and to cover 22 miles from Trembles to Quebec with his small force was a wearying work for Bougainville, so he was glad to face the enemy instead of having to chase him. That same night Saunders formed some of his men-of-war near Beauport, and lowered the boats filled with marines and sailors, as if to make a landing at Beauport. When one reflects that the British had many more sailors and marines than soldiers, he can see what a formidable force could have gathered in those boats. Montcalm was completely deceived and concentrated his force at the menaced point.

The start
down the
river

Meantime Wolfe's men were awaiting the signal, grouped about the "Sutherland" which was anchored opposite Cap Rouge about seven miles above the Foulon. At eleven the men got into the boats and a little before two o'clock the whole force were drifting down the river with the ebb tide. By this time the sky had become overcast, a favoring condition. In the first boat were Wolfe and Captain De Laune besides twenty-four men who had volunteered to be the party which should first climb the cliff, an adventure which seemed indeed like a forlorn hope.

Luck seemed to be with the English all that night. Wolfe's oarsmen allowed the boat to run too near a British ship, the "Hunter," at anchor in midstream, and the crew prepared to fire on the boat. Wolfe

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hailed her just in time and saved the expedition. He also learned that a deserter had told the "Hunter's" captain that a French provision convoy was expected down the river that night and the captain naturally supposed this was it. That knowledge was most valuable a few minutes later. It had been very slow and difficult for Quebec to get supplies from Montreal by land and several convoys by water had been successfully conducted. This was to be another of them. It had really been countermanded, but this of course Wolfe did not know, and neither did some of the French sentries on the shore. As they were passing Sillery Point, a challenge suddenly rang out from the shore, "*Qui vive?*" Instantly Simon Fraser, a Highlander, who had served in Holland and knew French perfectly, replied: "*France.*" "*À quel regiment?*" the sentry persisted. "*De la reine*" answered the quick-witted Fraser, who knew that some of that regiment were with Bougainville. Then they were allowed to pass without further challenge.

Passing an
inquisitive
sentry

GRAY'S "ELEGY"

It was during this drifting down the stream that Wolfe is said to have recited Gray's "Elegy" to his companions, and to have dwelt with emphasis on the prophetic line, "The paths of glory lead but to the grave," concluding with the remark, "Gentlemen, I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec to-morrow." It is a beautiful story and I for one can not give it up. It rests upon the authority of John Robison, then with Wolfe and afterward professor of natural philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, who used

A beautiful
story

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to tell it to his friends. Colonel Wood and other brilliant iconoclasts point out that utmost silence under penalty of death was enjoined upon every one of that party, and the general himself would hardly be the one to break his own rule. Yet Robison's story must have some foundation, and recent disclosures seem to show that the incident occurred in a boat the previous afternoon.

While Wolfe and his men are floating downstream and feints are being made at Beauport and Pointe aux Trembles, what is the situation at the Foulon, where Wolfe will land?

Just the
wrong man

Does the reader remember the precipitous and disgraceful surrender of Fort Beauséjour in Acadia which preceded the banishment of the peasants in 1755? The name of the cowardly officer who surrendered that fort was Vergor. He was tried for cowardice and, by Vaudreuil's influence, acquitted. And in the token of the stupid Governor's confidence it was he who was put in charge of the little body of men guarding the Foulon. One can imagine how far below his proper position this rascal must have viewed this assignment. And like almost every man who feels himself "above his job," he did its duties badly. It was one of the fitting and nicely adjusted arrangements in great events which we mortals gape and stare at and call the "irony of fate" that such an incompetent and coward should have been put in the place where New France demanded a man. It was no longer New France's day in the Court of the Universe.

The "irony
of fate"

And it was still more fitting that Vergor at that time should have allowed some of his little force of Canadians to go to their homes in Lorette to

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PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING WINNIPEG, MANITOBA



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harvest their grain—on condition, of course, that ^{Vergor} they harvest his field too. And such a fellow would ^{a-bed} not distress any good Canadian by compelling him to do sentry duty at the foot of that path. It was a lonely place down there, and so the jolly Canadians on that night, all that were there, sat or slept at the top of the hill. And Vergor, their commander? Why, Vergor, of course—went to bed!

Then there was another circumstance which com- ^{The}pleted the chain of Vaudreuil's blundering. ^{Guienne} ^{regiment} ^{moved} The Guienne regiment had been ordered by Montcalm to assist Bougainville and especially to keep watch upon the heights from Cap Rouge to the city. The order was made a few days after Wolfe broke camp at Montmorency, and the regiment served as ordered a few days. But against Montcalm's protest Vaudreuil for some reason ordered it back to the St. Charles River. On the 12th Montcalm repeated his protest and Vaudreuil promised to send the regiment back on the morrow. But the morrow never came.

THE ASCENT OF THE CLIFF

AND so, having passed the sentries along the shore and rounded Sillery Point, the British boats had by four o'clock reached the Anse-au-Foulon. Wolfe was the first man to leap ashore. He led the storming party (consisting of Captain De Laune and his twenty-four picked men, called the "forlorn hope," together with three companies of light infantry) about one hundred and fifty yards to the right of the Foulon, and there above him ran a spur. It was choked with felled trees and shrubbery. He looked up at ^{Wolfe} it and said: "I don't know whether we shall be ^{doubtful} able

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to get up there, but we must make the attempt."¹ They started up, and he went back to his men at the Cove, or Foulon, just around the bend. The country lies very much to-day as it did then, and standing at the foot of the spur a few years ago the writer could see the task before the men. It is not now, and was not when Wolfe saw it, the "precipitous cliff" our easily mounted path in a sort of ravine with rocks school histories pictured it, but a fairly steep yet rising on either side of it like a pass in a mountain chain. It is scarcely possible that it has grown any less steep in the century and a half since its ascent by Wolfe's men, but it was then not such an easy conquest as now because of the débris thrown into it. The men began crawling up on hands and knees, making as little noise as possible, but going right along in good Anglo-Saxon ways.

Not a
precipitous
cliff

Wolfe meanwhile waited in the Cove, henceforth to be called by his name. What must have been his suspense, his agony as there he waited! He did not know of the kindness of Fate in presenting to him Vaudreuil and Vergor, and he must have endured hells of torment until upon the silent air and in the lifting dawn rang out strong hearty English "Hurrahs" from the cliff above! The suspense was over. Wolfe ordered his men at once up the Foulon path.²

"Hurrahs"
from above

They soon learned what an easy conquest that "forlorn hope" had made. When the party was challenged, Captain McDonald, another Highlander

¹ The reader will note that the "forlorn hope" went up this spur while the army, as we shall see, went up the Foulon path.

² This was more like a road than the way through which the "forlorn hope" ascended.

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with a French tongue, replied that he was bringing up reinforcements from the Beauport camp, and while he was explaining, the rest of his force came suddenly up, lunged forward with fixed bayonets, and the French ran. Vergor leapt out of his bed when he heard the cheers, but was taken, night-shirt and all. The other men of his detachment were chased by the English and several captured.

The British were now climbing the Foulon and pouring themselves in a scarlet line toward the plateau above. Townshend's men began coming across the river toward the Foulon, and Holmes's squadron approached it. A battery at Samos, a few yards above the Cove, opened fire on Holmes and Townshend, and Murray was ordered to take it. After a slight check he promptly executed the task. Some of the boats were carried below the Foulon to the Anse des Mères and tried to land there, getting into a sharp engagement with the pickets. Wolfe was so disturbed by this accident that he himself hurried down in a boat after those men and brought them back.

What could not these 500 men of the Guienne regiment have done had they been there where Montcalm placed them? They could have been on the spot in a few minutes and could have almost certainly stopped the ascent and ruined Wolfe's plans. But they were safe on the other side of the town, and by six o'clock the whole British force was drawn up on the heights near the path.

Wolfe's position, however, was critical and dangerous. His little force of 5,000 men lay between Quebec and Bougainville. If Montcalm set out to attack him from the front and Bougainville from

Vergor
captured

Red coats
hurry upon
the heights

Wolfe's
perilous
position

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The Plains
of Abraham

the rear, his men would be cut to pieces. That risk had been foreseen but not dwelt upon. Every step in this whole movement was fraught with adventure and peril. Wolfe's only safety lay in action at once. He could support daring only by more daring. So he advanced promptly toward the city, and at length took up his position on the Plains of Abraham (so called from Abraham Martin, a pilot who had owned land there in the preceding century) and near where the Quebec jail now stands, about one mile from the walls of the city. There at eight o'clock stood the British army awaiting the enemy.

MONTCALM DECEIVED

A night of
noise and
excitement

MEANWHILE what was Montcalm doing? It had been an anxious night for him. He felt that something critical was happening and he did not rest a moment. Saunders with his 2,500 marines and sailors in boats apparently intending to land at Beauport, demanded his attention. All night long Saunders manœuvred and at intervals fired into the Beauport camp, while at his left roared the cannon from Point Levy battering again the Upper Town. Everywhere that night was boom and roar, except above the city where the real play was going on. When, just before daybreak, Montcalm heard the attack of the Samos battery he supposed it was the British ships firing upon his provision convoy. Hearing nothing further at six o'clock he rode down to Vaudreuil's headquarters. He then found that the governor had already learned of the landing and did not take it seriously enough to inform Montcalm.

Soon, however, Vaudreuil heard from the acting commandant of the city that Wolfe was marching

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toward Quebec. Even that did not disturb this master of tactics for he merely sent Montcalm out with one hundred men to see what was up! Then he wrote this wonderful note to Bougainville to alarm (!) him as to the attack on Quebec:

"Dear Sir, I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to write to me, together with the enclosed deposition of the deserter, or prisoner. I have handed it over to M. le Marquis de Montcalm. It seems quite certain that the enemy has landed at L'Anse-au-Foulon. We have set everything in motion. We have heard several little fusilades. M. le Marquis de Montcalm has just left with one hundred men belonging to the Government of Three Rivers, as reinforcements. So soon as I know positively what is going on, I shall inform you. I anxiously await news from you, to learn if the enemy has made any attempt against you. I have the honor to wish you good morning, at a quarter to seven o'clock. My messenger will see M. de Montcalm in passing, and may be able to give you later news."

If Vaudreuil had never done anything else to achieve immortality, that note certainly should win it for him.

Montcalm's soul was stirred to its depths when he heard that Wolfe had landed and was on his way to the city. Another messenger soon ran to him with later news, and looking across the city he saw Wolfe's redcoated army. Exclaiming "They are where they have no right to be," he plunged spurs into his horse and galloped at full speed toward the field of battle. He knew what all this meant. It

Vaudreuil's
master-
piece

Montcalm
now faces
the fact

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meant the crisis, the supreme moment in the life of New France.

Divided
authority
to the last

Yet in those dying agonies of New France, the ever-present poison of divided authority was doing its work. Montcalm had ordered his whole force at Beauport to follow him, and Vaudreuil ordered some of them to remain in the trenches. Montcalm directed Ramesay, the commandant at Quebec, to send him as many cannon as he could spare, and got only three when there were twenty-five, all because Vaudreuil did not order the full amount.

Montcalm's
chief aides
absent

One may hazard the suggestion that Montcalm, as he galloped like the wind toward the foe must have thought of the unhappy fortunes with which he was surrounded, especially regarding the brigadiers he had selected to accompany him and on whom he relied. They were all absent. Lévis, his right hand, who was almost as able as his chief, was at Montreal, Bourlamaque was at the head of Lake Champlain, and Bougainville was at Pointe aux Trembles. One wearies himself and his readers by the many "ifs" in this whole campaign, but the presence of Lévis and the others might have turned the tide. The three other brigadiers who did command that day paid the supreme sacrifice, and to them one can give no higher tribute.

Wolfe's
army in
battle array

While Montcalm is thundering back and forth getting his men to the front and urging on the preparations with feverish energy and great skill, let us glance at the army of Wolfe. He had less than 5,000 men, his firing line known to contain about 3,100. The plateau on which they stood was three-quarters of a mile wide, and the British line occupied it all except 200 yards on each side. The actual

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front consisted of 1,800 men formed in a line only two deep. This was the first occasion in which this arrangement was used by a European army on an open battlefield.³ The rear was well guarded and the force well arranged. The Samos battery which had fired on the British as they ascended the cliff was now held by them ready to be turned against Bougainville should he approach. In the firing line were the generals, Murray with the centre, Townshend the left, and Monckton the right. Wolfe was everywhere, examining all the dispositions of the troops. It was an hour's wait that he and his men had before the French appeared.

THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS

MONTCALM had got together about the same number of men as Wolfe, 5,000. He ought to have had more, but it is questionable if numbers would have counted that day. In fighting ability his men were, as Wolfe had said, much inferior to the English. Only half of Montcalm's men, eight battalions, were regulars, the rest were militiamen of questionable value. Having got his men together, Montcalm called on the field a council of war and it was unanimously agreed to attack at once. This decision has been criticized as too hasty, and Bigot in his report to the king complains that many of the French were "winded" when they went into battle, but this was undoubtedly a lying innuendo. Colonel Wood, after examining the evidence carefully, declares Montcalm had no choice but attack at once. More time for him would have given Wolfe more time, and the marines could have got into action from

³ Wood's "The Fight for Canada."

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No
alternative

Montcalm's rear. Indeed it is strange that this was not attempted anyhow. Had Saunders been sure of Wolfe's success, that would have been done. I was inclined to the belief that it might have been better if Montcalm had waited for Bougainville, but he was not sure that Bougainville was coming promptly. On the whole it seems that the French were forced to attack at once. The town was famine-stricken and could not stand a longer siege; the river as a line of communication was closed to the French by the British fleet; Wolfe's army held the only roads. There was no alternative.

The
advance
begins

Wolfe and
Montcalm

The advance began at nine o'clock. Montcalm was very hopeful of victory. He did not know how many men he had to face, but he had great confidence in his regulars. Some of them had been with him at Oswego and Ticonderoga and were looked upon as invincible. All the men were enthusiastic, and when he asked them as he rode along if they were tired, they answered him with glad faces that they were never tired before a battle. Montcalm looked that day the hero he was. Wearing the full uniform of a lieutenant-general, and mounted on a black horse, the picture he made never died out of the eyes of those who saw it. Wolfe, on the other hand, was not mounted, but his tall figure, six feet three, his brilliant new uniform and his decorations made him a shining mark. His one order, repeated to his colonels again and again, was that no one should fire until the enemy was within forty paces—a familiar order used by Montcalm at Ticonderoga and seen on many other battlefields.

As the French advanced, the cannon from the

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city and the sharpshooters, Canadian and Indian, ^{The} began to fire. Montcalm's three field pieces were not ^{battle on} handled well. The British got one six-pounder into the battle just in time. Under Colonel Richard Gridley's direction it did splendid service, pouring its shot along what is now a city street, with terrible effect. This was practically all the firing done by Wolfe's army until the general volley. As the French came in full view of the enemy and before the order to fire was given, they began to shoot in an irregular, nervous way. The Canadian regulars ^{French fire} bothered their associates by firing, and then, as if in ^{irregularly} the woods, throwing themselves on their bellies to reload. From this and other causes the line lost its compactness and regularity and some of the Canadians began to slink off to the right to join the sharpshooters. By this time the French began firing more regularly, but without great effect. The agony Montcalm must have felt as he saw the weakness on the open plain of his heroes who had fought so well behind intrenchments at Ticonderoga and Beauport, one can only imagine. They were massed six deep and thus afforded a splendid chance for the withering, solid fire which was to come.

VICTORY AND DEATH FOR WOLFE

THE discipline of the British was splendid. Not ^{British} a shot came from that long, thin line with shouldered ^{volleys} arms. At last the forty paces Rubicon was crossed ^{demoralize} and "Fire!" came from Wolfe's lips and was repeated ^{the French} by every colonel. Those volleys were almost simultaneous and tore great holes in the French front. Immediately the British reloaded and moved forward twenty paces, bringing them almost face to



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Wolfe's
dying
words

face with the French. Then began a fierce firing duel and it was kept up for five minutes. The French right first gave way and the rest followed. Wolfe at once ordered a general charge, leading the Grenadiers, and the flight became a rout. Early in the day he had been struck by a bullet in the wrist and later in the groin. Now just as the charge began and the enemy were beaten, a ball pierced his chest and he reeled. Three men, Captain Curry of the 28th, Lieutenant Brown of the Louisbourg Grenadiers, and Ensign Henderson came forward, supported him, and removed him to the rear. His only fear was that his fall should be known to the army and affect their charge. It was only too plain to him and those with him that his wound was mortal. His sight was growing dim and his pulse faint when some one near by shouted: "They run, they run!" "Who run?" asked the dying warrior eagerly. "The French, sir. Egad! they give way everywhere."

"Go, one of you," he spoke in faltering tones, "to Colonel Burton, tell him to march Webb's regiment down to the St. Charles to cut off their retreat from the bridge." As some one sprang off to carry the order into effect he turned on his side and sighing, "Now, God be praised, I die in peace," he breathed his last.

MONTCALM SHOT

French
flee, three
brigadiers
killed

MEANWHILE the hordes of pursuers and pursued poured along toward the city. In spite of the heroic attempts of their officers to rally them, the French regulars turned their faces from the foe and fled. In trying to rally them the three brigadiers, Senne-

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zergues, St. Ours, and Fontbonne, were all killed. Then the noble Montcalm, who had already been wounded, was shot through the stomach while also trying to rally his men. Two soldiers supported him as he rode through the St. Louis gate amid the awful din, tumult, and terror of a mad retreat. The crowds of women of the city at once surrounded him, crying: "*Oh, Mon Dieu: le Marquis est tué!*"

"*Ce n'est rien. Ne vous affligez pas pour moi, mes bonnes amies*" said he with a smile. But he knew he was fatally hurt, and when the surgeon a few minutes later told him he could not live beyond the next morning, he said with resignation, "So much the better. I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

The battle was now over. Indeed it was over just at the moment Wolfe was shot down. The time of actual fighting was seven minutes! In seven minutes Montcalm's dream of victory and return to France in triumph had been shattered and Wolfe had become the idol and martyr of England. Few such world revolutions have taken place in such a bewilderingly brief space of time.

Yet final victory was by no means assured. Military experts can show that with proper handling after the first shock of panic the French could have held Quebec for weeks. The first shift of the battle's fortunes came not from the French regulars whom four generals lost their lives in attempting to rally—those troops did not stop in their mad flight until they had descended the cliff to St. Roch. But the Canadians and Indians who played such a weak part in the early fighting now came into the scene, fighting from behind defenses and hence brave and effi-

A historic
utterance

Only seven
minutes

The
French
rally

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

cient. Some of them behind bushes and trees on the French right poured a disastrous fire into the British attacking party. They were driven off, but only after a sharp exchange of compliments. The British there were abruptly checked.

Canadians
against
High-
landers

Others of the Canadians who had fled at the first fire rallied at the Côte d'Abraham and did considerable damage to the Highlanders opposite them. The Highlanders eventually drove the Canadians away, but only after they had to send for reinforcements. By this time the frightened Frenchmen below had reformed and joined some of the Canadians, presenting a front which the pursuing British thought best not to attack.

BOUGAINVILLE TOO LATE

WHAT of Bougainville all this time? The reader recalls that he was at Pointe aux Trembles 22 miles up the St. Lawrence from Quebec the night of the ascent of the cliff, expecting the attack to be made at that point. When morning dawned he saw that the warships which had threatened him the night before had disappeared and that there was no trace of the army of Wolfe. Soon he heard the cannon at Samos, and feeling that something extraordinary was happening he set out at once for Cap Rouge. At nine o'clock he reached that place and received Vaudreuil's unspeakable note. From it he realized the crisis which confronted French arms. He hurried on and in two hours, by eleven o'clock, the battlefield lay before his gaze. Could he have arrived an hour earlier he might have turned the tide of battle—but that is only another of those innumerable "ifs" whose consideration we dismissed long ago. Bou-

Bougain-
ville
realizes
the crisis

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gainville at once attacked the Samos battery with a small detachment, but the attack was repulsed. By this time the presence of his force became known to the main body of Wolfe's army, now under Townshend, who turned to drive Bougainville from the field. Having two guns and a superior force of infantry, he was able to make such a powerful demonstration that Bougainville retired to Ancienne Lorette, nine miles northwest of Quebec.

Thus closed the day on which New France became only Canada, for while there were many chances for the French reoccupation, the events of the thirteenth of September were final. Although the battle of the Plains lasted but seven minutes, it was as bloody as well as a decisive contest. On the British side nine officers and 49 men were killed, and 55 officers and 542 men wounded. The French loss was much heavier, although we are not able to know the exact figures. We know of course that four generals and at least one colonel were killed, and about 300 men in all killed is a fair estimate.

MONTCALM AND WOLFE

Now let us leave Townshend intrenching himself against a renewal of attack from the French, Lévis flying from Montreal to redeem his country's fortunes, Vaudreuil and Bigot plotting to decide the next step, and Bougainville eating his heart out with remorse that he could not have been able to turn the battle—let us leave all these at their several tasks that night and turn to the two heroes of the conflict, the one dead, the other dying.

The body of Wolfe was taken that afternoon to Point Levy and there embalmed. On the "Royal

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Wolfe's
body taken
home

William" it was borne to England. It arrived at Portsmouth, November 18, and was taken, attended by the greatest possible honors, to London and interred at Greenwich on the 20th. The whole world did him honor, but his country could not expend the money needed to carry out the terms of his will he having by a wrong computation ordered the disposition of £2,000 more than his estate contained. The ignoble pettiness of this action by Great Britain to the victorious hero may be contrasted with the honorable generosity of France toward her vanquished hero. England did finally vote Wolfe a monument in the Abbey, but only after pressure was brought to bear upon Parliament. Canada too was slow in showing proper honor to his name. A simple shaft now marks the spot where he fell, but its inscription, only four words, is rarely eloquent:

Here Died Wolfe Victorious

The last
hours of
Montcalm

While Wolfe's body was being borne to Point Levy, Montcalm lay in Surgeon Arnoux's house on St. Louis street, which is still pointed out to visitors to the old capital. He knew he was dying, and calmly made his preparations for the end. He asked that his papers be given to Lévis, whom he loved and trusted and professionally esteemed most highly, and he then sent his farewell messages to the bereft home in sunny southern France, to his mother, his wife, and each of their children. The aged bishop, Pontbriand, himself marked for early death and feeble and heart-broken, visited him and administered the viaticum. Even in his last hours and knowing that he was dying, the men who had made his

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lot so unhappy in his lifetime and were to slander him after his death, Bigot and Vaudreuil, sent a message to him asking what they should do. He replied that he would advise nothing; but suggested three alternatives, to keep up the contest within the city, to surrender, or to retreat to Jacques Cartier.

His earthly
interests at
an end

When Ramesay, commandant of the city, the man who had refused to send him the cannon that might have made his march invincible, sent that night for Montcalm's orders, he replied:

"I will neither give orders nor interfere any further. I have much business that must be attended to of greater moment than your ruined garrison and this wretched country. My time is very short; therefore pray leave me. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from our present perplexities."

Tradition has it that he sent a note to the British commander asking him to be kind to the Canadians, and copies of this note are extant, but there is also a copy of another note in which he speaks of being compelled to surrender Quebec to him and asks for his kindness to his sick and wounded. Of the two notes the latter is certainly genuine. He could hardly have written two notes to the same man.

Having said farewell to all, he passed the remainder of the night in prayer and thanksgiving that he could die a Christian and a Catholic, assured of forgiveness and salvation. At five o'clock in the morning of the 14th he died.

No coffin-maker could be found, and so an old servant of the Ursulines, the good Michel, nailed together a rude box of boards, and into it the body

The
funeral of
Montcalm

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Buried at
night

of the great Marquis was laid. The burial took place at nine o'clock that night, a funeral procession of officers, women, and children attending it. Interment was made in the Ursuline Chapel in a grave formed by the hole made by a British shell. A monumental tablet was placed in the chapel and unveiled on the one hundredth anniversary of his death, September 14th, 1850, the occasion being one of profound honor and symbolic attestation to his memory. This tablet, which stands to-day in that chapel which thousands of strangers visit every year, reads:

*Honneur à Montcalm
Le Destin
En Lui Derobant la Victoire
L'a Recompense
Par une Mort Glorieuse*

The
only name
spared
by the
French
Revolution

France never fails in honoring her illustrious sons. Her treatment of Montcalm's family stands in glowing contrast to Great Britain's penurious action toward Wolfe's. His family was pensioned and always held in the greatest reverence. Even the Revolution spared that one name. The madmen who ruled France in those awful days cut off every pension but the one to Montcalm's family, a most remarkable tribute to the purity of his record and the nobility of his ideals and life.

The sublime and unique circumstance of the death of these two beloved chieftains on the same field of battle was the inspiration of the happy suggestion that a joint monument be erected to their memory. So there stands just west of the Château Frontenac

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in Quebec a tall stone shaft. On one side is graven The Joint *Montcalm*; on the other *Wolfe*, and on the pedestal: monument

Mortem Virtus Commemorat

Famam Historia

Monumentum Postulat

Dedit

QUEBEC TAKEN BY THE BRITISH

Now from monuments and memorials we turn Vaudreuil
to battle-stained Quebec and its council and Bigot
afternoon of September 13th, 1759. in council Vaudreuil and Bigot
were closeted together at the St. Charles. They were en-
gaged in drawing up some paper. An officer enter-
ing was ordered out, but gained a glimpse at the
paper and believed it was a capitulation. So he went
about pleading that other officers demand a share in
the council. This was done and the council was held.
What took place there we can not know. Vaudreuil
declares he was for fighting, but was overruled by
the officers. Almost certainly he lied. At any rate The order
it was at length decided to retreat to Jacques Cartier. to retreat
At nine o'clock that night Vaudreuil gave the com- a mistake
mand and the retreat was conducted under his or-
ders. It was the wrong thing to do under the cir-
cumstances. Townshend was not thinking of taking
the initiative for a day or two; on the other hand
he was busily engaged until far into the night in
building redouts and intrenchments. Vaudreuil could
have taken his army and joined Bougainville's only
a few miles away and thus kept up a rear attack on
the British which would have been very dangerous.
It is said that some of the officers voted to retreat be-
cause Vaudreuil would insist upon commanding the

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army, and no army could win with such a leader. Could they have known that Lévis was hurrying to join them, their decision might have been different. But retreat was the order, and retreat it was. The only other order written by the governor was one sent to Ramesay authorizing the surrender forty-eight hours after the retreat. He then began the trek to Jacques Cartier which was more disgraceful and disorderly than even the retreat of the English under Abercrombie after their defeat by Montcalm at Ticonderoga. The soldiers did not march; they ran. It was a mob, a panic-stricken mob, the second time they had so formed themselves within twenty-four hours. Through settlement and village they passed until they were safe at Jacques Cartier, thirty miles west of Quebec, on the St. Lawrence. Of course there was no pursuit. Townshend did not dream of such terror and incompetency. Vaudreuil did leave a large store of provisions at Beauport for the garrison, but neglected to inform Ramesay of that fact, and the rabble and the Indians soon found it and rifled it.

The retreat
a rout

Ramesay was in a terrible plight. He had recently left the sick bed, but his spirit was brave. With any sort of support he would certainly have given a good account of himself in defending the city. He had less than 700 French regulars, some sailors and the militia, all brave enough, but not sufficiently numerous or well provisioned for such a crisis. The starving multitude who had fled to Beauport at the British army's approach now returned to the city with the stragglers and the inhabitants of the small towns in the neighborhood. This multitude clamored for food, and there was no food.

The plight
of the city

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The mayor and leading citizens implored Ramesay to surrender. He held a council of war, and all except one advised surrender. But he still hoped on that something would happen to prevent this calamity.

The coming of Lévis seemed at first to be the signal for a new hope in the French forces. He had received from Vaudreuil's courier the news of the defeat and hurried from Montreal with all speed. His consternation on arriving at Jacques Cartier was only exceeded by his anger. He roundly scored Vaudreuil for his retreat, and especially for the manner of it, and demanded that the army return and protect Quebec. The governor consented and an advance force was sent with provisions and an encouraging message to Ramesay. Probably the shifty governor did not inform Lévis on his orders to Ramesay. At any rate, on the 18th, Vaudreuil sent another message to Ramesay revoking his previous order and urging him to hold out as the whole army was coming to his relief. The army did start that morning, but that evening it was stopped by the news that the Union Jack was flying over the city. Lévis hurries to the field

There are the usual criminations and recriminations about that surrender. Certainly, however, Ramesay can not be blamed. It is true he had received an indefinite promise of relief from Vaudreuil, but no one knew better than Ramesay the worthlessness of such a promise. The city's situation grew hourly more desperate. On the afternoon of the 17th the navy made its last of the many and vital contributions to the British cause in this siege. Saunders closed in with twelve warships and prepared to bombard the already battered and shattered British navy begins to attack Quebec

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Plans for
the assault

city. Townshend having got his guns in position was also ready to open fire. After this cannonading the British seaman were to enter the Lower Town and the soldiers with Townshend were to assault the walls above. The garrison was in no condition for defense. Even the guns could not be trained to bear on the British. With the two forces lining up to complete the ruin of the town and to cause the deaths of many women and children, Ramesay had no alternative. So he ran up the white flag and asked for a parley. There was some objection to his terms, especially to the absurd proposition that the garrison should be allowed to join Vaudreuil after the surrender. Both Ramesay and his messenger, Johannès, prolonged the negotiations as long as they could, hoping to the last that some tangible evidence of the approach of relief could justify them in breaking off the parley. But at eleven o'clock that night Ramesay had to agree to capitulate and at 8 o'clock the next morning, the 18th, Saunders and Townshend signed the papers.

The city
surren-
dered, S. J.
18, 1759

Of course Vaudreuil affected astonishment, and wrote Ramesay that such a precipitate surrender had surprised the whole army. Lévis could hardly pretend to such feeling, but, of course, he felt inexpressibly saddened and heart-broken. Such an opportunity would otherwise have been given him to win great laurels by saving Quebec and at least staving off the day of the English conquest. But he was too late.

In the afternoon of the 18th, Townshend took formal possession of Quebec. At 4 P. M. the Union Jack was flung out over the city, and it has

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never been lowered. The French troops marched out with all the honors of war, and four days later were sent to France in British ships.

ENGLAND WILD WITH JOY

WHEN the news of the surrender reached England the whole nation rejoiced even as it mourned for Wolfe. Bonfires blazed and bells rang in all corners of the island except in the village of Greenwich, where all sound of joy was hushed in sympathy for the sorrow of the mother of Wolfe. Coming as the victory did only a short time after the disheartening despatch of Wolfe which seemed to mean nothing but failure, the reaction was overpowering. Quebec had come to be regarded as absolutely impregnable and Wolfe as a happy accident at Louisbourg who had found his real level at Quebec. Aside from the surprise of this news of victory it had a most important significance to the English people. It had been a most anxious year for them. The expectation of invasion from France was not absent from any mind during all that time. Amherst checked at Crown Point, Wolfe despairing of victory at Quebec, and the terrible disaster to Britain's ally, Frederick, at Künersdorf, these made the nation miserable. Wolfe's victory at Quebec was the turning of the tide. Soon afterward came Hawke's great naval victory of Quiberon, the dissipation of the danger of invasion, Frederick's improved condition in Prussia, and Clive's continued successes in India. The American colonies also rejoiced in Quebec's capture, and proudly, for they had contributed 3,000 seamen to Saunders's force. Some, however, clearly saw, as did many Englishmen, that this event meant not

Rejoicing
and
mourning

England
had been
discour-
aged

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

closer union of colony to mother country, but a looser bond. France received the news lightly. The Pompadour told Louis that he might now sleep well at night, and Voltaire gave a fête to celebrate his country's "deliverance from a vast stretch of frozen country."

Murray
left in
command
at Quebec

When Wolfe's body was borne home in the "Royal William," the British fleet and the two senior generals, Monckton and Townshend, left at the same time. Murray was thus left in command at Quebec and did his utmost to make bearable the lot of the wretched citizens of that ruined city during that terrible winter of cold, sickness, and famine. During this time Lévis and the remnant of Montcalm's army were at various points along the St. Lawrence. Amherst, on Lake Champlain, completed his fleet in October, and on its first engagement with the French boats vanquished them completely. But it was impossible to advance farther because of Bourlamaque's strong position, in which he had been helped by Lévis, and because the terms of some of the provincial troops expired at this time. So Amherst and the bulk of his army retired to Albany and winter closed upon the whole country.

LÉVIS'S ATTEMPT TO RETAKE QUEBEC

France
gives no
help

WE shall hasten on in our narrative, for almost every event was merely one step in the decline of New France. It seemed not impossible that France might send over reinforcements to Lévis and win back Quebec and with it control of all Canada. But France, blind to the value of this great empire, sore at her European defeats, and trusting to restoration by treaty, let New France go to its fate. Nor would



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it have been safe for her to try to send ships and troops over to Canada since British men-of-war guarded practically every French port. But Lévis kept up a stout heart, and it was a dull week at Quebec which did not contain a rumor that Lévis was advancing upon the city. At various times during the winter small parties of French and Indians did appear near Lorette and at Point Levy, and in January a sharp engagement occurred, in which several men on each side were killed.

Lévis plans
carefully

Lévis was meanwhile exerting every energy to get together an army to retake Quebec in the spring. His plans were carefully laid and matured. He set out on April 17 with 7,260 men and marched directly toward Quebec. He was accompanied by several French vessels with stores for the army. All along the way the Canadians joined his army, so that by the time he neared Quebec he had nearly 10,000 men, of whom about 3,500 were French regulars. Murray felt compelled to meet him on the open and join him in battle, so on April 28, 1760, he marched out of Quebec with 3,000, all the men he could spare after leaving a beggarly number in the town. To this, by sickness and cold, had his army of 7,000 been reduced. The two armies met on the plains near Ste. Foy and not far from the scene of Wolfe's battle, and a desperate engagement followed. The French outnumbered the English three to one, and while the latter had more artillery they could not use it to advantage on account of the terrible condition of the roads. The fighting lasted one hour and three-quarters, and the result was an overwhelming French victory. The British retreated within the walls of the city thoroughly beaten and wondering

A desperate
battle at
Ste. Foy,
April 28,
1760

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

if again Quebec was not destined to change hands. Lévis was wild with delight. He was about to win where Montcalm lost, and his loyal heart beat high with anticipations of triumph for himself and country. True, he had lost about 1,500 men, but Murray had lost one-third of his army.

Lévis promptly enveloped the city and began to prepare for a regular siege. His ships came down to the Foulon, and he was fairly well provisioned and equipped. If Lévis had known what was coming, he would have dared an assault, and in the crippled condition of the city could hardly have failed to take it. Murray could do nothing but hope for succor. Surely nothing could save the British now but a miracle. The miracle appeared. On May 9 a ship arrived in the harbor. Lévis, expecting promised aid from France, assumed that it was French, but when it arrived to straining eyes the Union Jack appeared. But Lévis was not discouraged and went on with his siege preparations. A week later, however, three more British men-of-war reached Quebec just as Lévis started on an attack which would surely have captured the city. The news almost crushed him; he recalled his troops at once, made all his plans conform to the news, and by the next morning had broken camp and was on his way back to Montreal, leaving guns and stores behind him in great confusion. His ships were attacked by the British, and, although gallantly defended, were compelled to strike their colors. The British squadron cleaned the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence of every French craft, the last engagement being at the mouth of the Miramichi, the grandfather of Lord Byron commanding the British ship.

An overwhelming French victory

British ships save Quebec

Lévis retreats in great haste

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The last
campaign

British
successes
on all sides

Three
armies
threaten
Montreal

Summer was now at hand, and the final massing of the English against the French began. It was in three sections. The chief party was commanded by Amherst, who was to lead an expedition from Lake Ontario. He had left the Lake Champlain campaign in the hands of Haviland, who was to drive on the French and meet Amherst before Montreal, while Murray was to come up from Quebec at the same time. Amherst had 10,000 men under him when he left Oswego on the 9th of August. He proceeded without very great resistance until he reached Fort Lévis under Pouchot near the head of the Rapids. Here bombardment took place, but the garrison was finally forced to surrender its 384 men on the 25th of August. It was a rather ticklish undertaking which then confronted Amherst, that of running the now familiar Rapids of the Thousand Islands from near Ogdensburg to Montreal. This trip occupied about two weeks, and while he lost nearly 100 men and about fifty boats of one kind and another, on the whole the venture was remarkably successful, and on the 6th of September the whole force landed at Lachine, where La Salle's seigniority had been. By that time Murray and Haviland had also reached the vicinity of Montreal. Murray had little difficulty on his way from Quebec, the inhabitants generally submitting, but at the mouth of the Richelieu, where stood and stands the town of Sorel, he defeated an armed force of Canadians under Bourlamaque. This town Murray burned. Haviland had left Crown Point on the 16th of August and on the 21st defeated Bougainville at Île-aux-Noix in a short skirmish, the French force retreating to St. Johns and later Montreal. When the three British

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armies had got together outside Montreal they comprised 17,000 men. Against them Lévis at Montreal had only about 2,500 men. The crisis for New France had come at last and would not be denied. Here at Montreal the last act in the immortal drama was to be played.

It had been a very disheartening time for Lévis. On his way back from his futile attempt to recapture Quebec the Canadians had deserted him by wholesale, and these desertions continued throughout the summer. The appearance of Amherst and his great army took the heart out of all the French troops except the regulars. The Canadian militia who had remained faithful up to this time deserted almost in a body. Nearly all the colonial regulars did the same and even a few of the French regulars left the service.

Deserting
the French
standard

CAPITULATION

On the evening of September 6 a council of war was held in Montreal and the desperate condition of affairs thoroughly discussed. Bigot was in favor of immediate surrender, and that was resolved upon. Bougainville was sent out the next morning to see what terms of peace could be secured. He had taken with him a long document which Vaudreuil had drawn up containing fifty-five articles of capitulation. Most of these Amherst approved, but he inserted this clause: "The whole garrison in Montreal and all other French troops in Canada must lay down their arms and shall not serve during the present war."

Arranging
the terms

Vaudreuil's article was that the troops should march out with arms, cannon, and the honors of war,

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and Amherst's demand was thought to be insulting to a fallen enemy. In vain was Bougainville sent again to Amherst to remonstrate; the British commander was inflexible. Then Lévis tried his hand, writing a note in which he declared that for his part he would not agree to such a capitulation. To him Amherst replied that he recognized that this capitulation clause was humiliating, but he was determined to punish the French in this way for their many barbarities and breaches of faith during the war. On the next morning, September 8, Vaudreuil gave way and signed the capitulation. By the terms of this document Canada passed under control of Great Britain. Free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was guaranteed under certain reservations, and the religious orders were assured of their property, rights, and privileges. There was to be absolutely no change in the conduct of affairs, so far as it would affect the people. All the French troops were to be sent home in British ships.

Capitula-
tion signed
September
8, 1760

Lévis's bad
conduct

Lévis continued obstinate to the last and made a formal protest against the signing of the capitulation, but his protest was disregarded, and with his brother officers he was compelled to endure the humiliating experience of laying down arms. But he refused to surrender the colors, declaring that the French regime its had no colors, and so Amherst was not able to bear home with him the French flags in triumph. As a matter of fact, Lévis had actually burned all the colors to prevent them from being surrendered. In a few days more all the French troops had left Montreal as prisoners of war, and by the end of October the last of them had sailed from Quebec. The American militia

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and most of the British troops, also, sailed for home, leaving sufficient garrisons at Montreal, Quebec, and other points. The news of the surrender, almost exactly one year after the battle of the Plains, caused great rejoicing throughout England and the American colonies. There was a great parade in the city of Boston, accompanied by a grand dinner in Faneuil Hall, bonfires, and illuminations of various kinds. Other American cities similarly rejoiced.

The return of the French officers to their native land was as tempestuous as the life of the colony had been. Storms hindered the progress of the ships, and some of them were even wrecked. The civil officers of the government of New France, on arriving home, were at once arrested and thrown into the Bastille. Chief of these were, of course, Vaudreuil, Bigot, Pean, and Cadet. The charge against them was defrauding New France, a charge of which they were all, except possibly Vaudreuil, undoubtedly guilty. It was a radical change for this band of plunderers to be confined to that prison for several months after having lived so gorgeously off the bounty of the King and the labor of the poor people of Canada, whom they were ordered to guard and protect. It was not until December of the next year, 1761, that the trial began. Cadet, we remember, was a sort of quartermaster or commissary-general, who made his way from the lowest ranks to the highest by the exercise of tremendous energy, audacity, and corruption. Vaudreuil was at last acquitted. Bigot and Cadet were found guilty. Bigot was banished from France for life, his property was confiscated, and he was forced to pay 1,500,000 francs to the Crown. Cadet was banished for nine

Rejoicing
in England
and
America

New
France's
Envoy

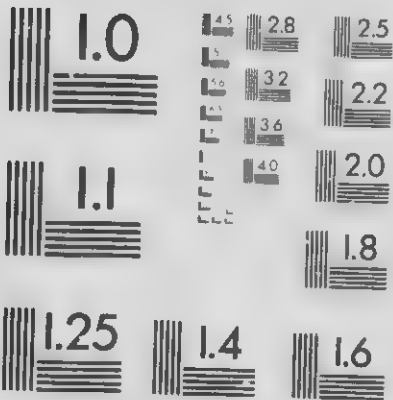
Graft gets
its reward

Bigot
banished
and fined
a million
and a half
francs



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THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

years and ordered to pay back six million francs. There were twenty-one persons on trial, of whom ten were condemned.

The character of
Vaudreuil

Of the after history of these scoundrels we know little and we care less. History has hitherto dealt too gently with Vaudreuil. It is impossible for us, however, to dismiss him without pronouncing upon him a damning judgment. His boastfulness and his egotism were, of course, insufferable, but his lying, vilifying, and slandering of Montcalm, and the underhand, despicable means which he took to discredit his rival, are beneath our contempt. As if that were not enough, however, the man did not stop with the martyrdom of Montcalm. After that great hero's death he lied about him and vilified him in his letters to the home Government in order to cover up the faults and miserable pretensions of this ignoble, pusillanimous imposter that he was. Vaudreuil may not have been a thief like Bigot and Cadet. If not, it was because he lacked their courage and audacity; but in the eyes of all honest men a liar and a slanderer is worse than any mere thief, however magnificent.

Montcalm
the world's
hero

The story of the fall of New France is one of which no reader can ever tire. Undoubtedly its crowning figure is Montcalm, one of the very few leaders sent out from France who was honest and true and great. Every one who reads that story and, wandering about Quebec, sees that marble tablet in the Ursuline convent, can not help a sigh because Montcalm's cause was lost. He did so deserve to win. As Howells makes his heroine in "A Chance Acquaintance" say, "I belong to the French side, please, in Quebec." We never quite cease, like children, to whimper at Fate because she put into

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

this story a hero on each side—and such a hero! If only there had been no Montcalm, but Vaudreuil or Bigot had been in command of the French, with how much promptness and satisfaction we should have hailed the result!

While no amount of study and reflection can altogether banish that feeling of sympathy, yet facts invest the cause with a different aspect. Montcalm failed not so much because of what the English did as because of what his own countrymen did. He stands giant-like because his own companions were so low. France had been rotten and corrupt, and French rule of Canada had been honeycombed with fraud, deceit, hypocrisy, wholesale graft, and thieving for a century. No one man, even endowed with genius, could purify and make clean that awful garbage mass. New France was tottering to its fall when Montcalm arrived, and while his genius did produce wonderful victories at Oswego and Ticonderoga, yet he could not lead that decaying body into a great conflict. Right in the heart of the combat, in the very moment when he was agonizing for the life of New France, his companions were stabbing him and weakening him at vital points. No; New France could not win. For two centuries it had all the better of the struggle, because it had the better scheme of empire, but when Great Britain at last awoke and the American colonies saw the peril before them, their power and overwhelming numbers scattered the rotting remains of a great empire. To paraphrase Hugo on Waterloo, New France did not fit in with the eighteenth century. ^{On} it fell, ^{account of} not ^{God"} on account of Montcalm or Wolfe or Vaudreuil, but on account of God.

CHAPTER XXX

CANADA UNDER THE BRITISH

Military
govern-
ment

Why the
courts were
important

CANADA was now British, at least until the conclusion of peace by treaty, and a military government was set up. Under it Canada was governed wisely for three years—so wisely, indeed, that many of the difficulties and estrangements of the next century would have been sensibly decreased if the civil government which followed the military had been as wise and careful. Amherst, who was in command of all the British forces in America, divided Canada into three districts, Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, with general headquarters at Quebec, of which Murray had charge. Gage was stationed at Montreal and Burton at Three Rivers. Students of government lay stress upon the impartiality with which the British officers dispensed justice in those trying times. There were, of course, no civil courts and no juries, the army officers at each post constituting a court of justice from which appeal might be taken to the officer in command of the district and to the commander-in-chief. The average reader in a comfortable home and in quiet, well-governed communities can not understand the immense amount of emphasis historians lay upon the judicial system in new or pioneer countries, and they are likely to be bored by long descriptions of the system of gov-

CANADA UNDER THE BRITISH

ernment and justice. Yet true historians can not elide this description without at the same time failing to present a faithful picture of the times.

Throughout the whole French régime the sessions of the council at Quebec and the decisions of the Intendant were of utmost importance not only to the dignitaries and attorneys, but to the great mass of the people. The questions of boundaries of estates and personal liabilities in a new country are always numerous and irritating. This was especially true in New France, where the people were fond of litigation and there prevailed a peculiar system of land tenure. Under the French régime the institution of a jury was unknown, and the prompt and just decisions of the English military courts were welcomed by the Canadians when Anglo-Saxon processes would have puzzled and displeased them. These points are made at this time in order to prepare the reader for a better understanding of the civil period and its troubles.

Scarcely had the new government got into running order before the news of the death of the king reached Canada. George II, "snuffy old drone from the German hive," as Holmes calls him in that immortal "Wonderful One-Hoss Shay," died of apoplexy on October 25, 1760. Owing to the law of succession it was inevitable that the King's eldest grandson should succeed him. For that reason the death of the King was mourned in England. Full of faults and blind fancies and with many vices, the King was not of a type of which Englishmen are proud. But he was really honest at heart and unselfish, and the older he grew the more enlightened he became. Overfond of his

Military
rule
popular

The
death of
George II

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

George III
angers his
people

"German hive," to be sure, he was so because of natural yearnings and because he believed England's and Germany's future should be to some extent blended. The English public were tired enough of their sovereign's pro-German bias, but they were in no sense prepared for the opposite tack which was taken by the new King. Especially were they shocked and outraged by George III's proposal to let Frederick, England's ally, get himself out of his difficulties as well as he could and without England's help. The people of Great Britain are honest to the core, and they regarded the King's proposition as most dishonorable and impossible. On this point came the clash with Pitt.

Pitt's
resignation

The new King wished at once to make a peace. So did Pitt. But the King proposed that in the peace negotiations England deal with France alone, leaving Germany out of the affair. Pitt stood aghast at the suggestion, and when the King persisted and other troubles arose, he resigned. But peace did not come after all. A family compact had been arranged between Spain and France, by virtue of which if peace were not soon arranged between France and England, Spain should assist France. And although negotiations for peace had long been under way Spain was so anxious to get England involved that her Ambassador to England grew offensive, provoking his dismissal and a declaration of war against Spain as essential to England's pride. This was made in January, 1762, and the King and his new favorite, the sycophantic Bute, found themselves engaged in war after all. British arms continued to gain successes. Martinique was taken in February and, most important of all, Havana was

Spain in
war with
England

CANADA UNDER THE BRITISH

captured in August after a long campaign in which ^{Over-}10,000 men and nineteen ships of war were engaged. ^{whelming} Frederick of Prussia no longer received his subsidy ^{British} from England and almost lost courage, but the ^{victories} death of the sovereign of Russia placed Catherine, his friend, on the throne. France sent an expedition to Newfoundland which occupied the island about six months, but the English at length drove the French away.

THE TREATY OF PEACE

By autumn France was glad to cry enough and to entertain suggestions for a treaty of peace. England was willing and the preliminaries were signed on November 3, 1762. Before the treaty could be permanent its preliminaries had to be assented to by the House of Commons, and because of much opposition to its terms there was resort to bribery. Bute handled the corruption fund, and we have his secretary's word for it that £80,000 of the King's money was expended in this way. It was one of the most disgraceful episodes in English history.

The treaty, which was signed and went into effect ^{Treaty most} February 10, 1763, was most favorable to English ^{favorable} claims. Great Britain obtained Canada and Cape ^{to English} Breton, the West India islands of Saint Vincent, Dominica, Tobago and Grenada, got back Minorca and acquired Senegal. Because of the capture of Havana, which England did not want and Spain did, the latter ceded Florida to Great Britain and to compensate her ally for that loss France gave Louisiana to Spain, thus disposing by one stroke of the pen of all French possessions on the mainland of North

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America. It was during this war that the English captured the Philippines, but soon returned them to Spain.

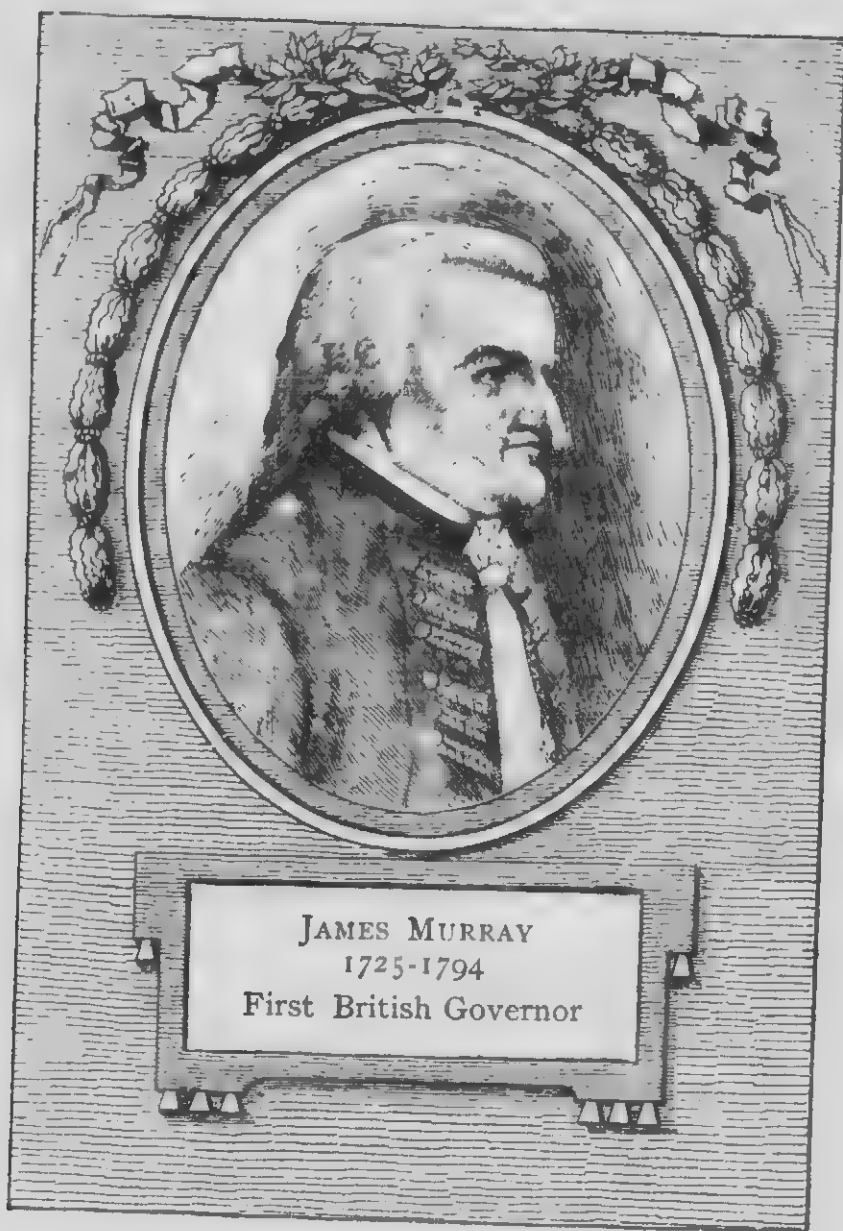
THE FRENCH REPATRIATION

Many
Canadians
return to
France

CURIOUSLY enough there is much doubt as to the number of Frenchmen who returned to France. The records are provokingly indefinite on the subject. Amherst makes no mention of any great repatriation of Frenchmen after the fall of Montreal, nor is there any reference to it in official records after the treaty of peace was signed. However, there is little doubt that a large number of Canadians of French birth did return to France about that time—1761-64. Whether this number was as large as twenty-five per cent, as Dr. Munro estimates it,¹ is debatable. There were but 70,000 people in Canada at the time of the conquest, and the return of 18,000 people seems most unlikely, especially since such a large migration would certainly have been recorded both in Canada and in New York and New England. However, the loss was considerable, and while many of those who went away from Canada could well have been spared, yet on the whole, this body was composed largely of wealthy traders and merchants and landowners, whose capital and energy were sorely needed in Canada at that time. Canada a British province was thus entering into a race with the British provinces to the south under a tremendous handicap. Assuming that there were 60,000 people in Canada after the exodus, there were in the other English colonies over 1,000,000 people. The disproportion was startling, and the French Cana-

The new
British
Province
handi-
capped

¹ "Canada and British North America," by W. B. Munro.



THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Canada's
progress
remarkable

dians seemed to realize their weakness. In spite of the assurances of the British, a large part of the inhabitants of Canada stood in fear of their conquerors. They were afraid that not only their property but also their religion was in jeopardy. So the attitude of the whole people lacked confidence and energy. The progress which Canada has made since that time has been, in the circumstances, more wonderful and creditable than even that of the United States.

PONTIAC'S REBELLION

Indians
resent
British rule

Lack
of tact

BEFORE British Canada was really established the new colony was threatened with disintegration from the west. In the future there were to be many troubles from within. The first trouble was from without. There was a chief of the Ottawas called Pontiac, who, from the first, exhibited a spirit of defiance to British authority. The Ottawas about this time were undoubtedly the strongest of all the Western tribes. They occupied the territory northwest of Detroit, which had become the principal fort of the British in the West. Even when the expedition which took over the control of these Western forts from the French was on its way to Detroit soon after the capitulation in 1760 its leader found a rebellious spirit among all the chiefs of tribes formerly allied with the French. This feeling was only natural, but it seems to have grown and its growth must be to some extent ascribed to the lack of tact on the part of the British officers. They had none of the French *savoir faire*, nor, indeed, were they disposed to be sufficiently conciliatory. Pontiac is said also to have felt personal ill-will toward

CANADA UNDER THE BRITISH

Major Gladwin, the British commander of Detroit, ^A
The Ottawa chief believed that by stimulating and ^{formidable}
directing the general feeling of dislike of the British, ^{alliance}
which prevailed in the Northwest, he might organize
such a formidable revolt as to obtain control of all
that region west of Niagara. His influence un-
doubtedly extended over the Hurons, Sacs, Ottigamies,
Pottawattamies, Ojibways and Wyandots as
well as the Delawares and Shawanoes. Even the
Senecas of the Iroquois became to some extent allied
with him. In fact, this was the most formidable
alliance of the Indians of the country against the
white man since America was discovered.

Undoubtedly this insurrection was stimulated by
the French fur traders, who hoped in some way to
reap profit for themselves and who had not yet de-
spaired of seeing Canada again a French province.
The chief point of attack was Detroit. The design
was that this post and the other English posts and
the English settlements of Virginia and Pennsyl-
vania should be attacked on the 7th of May
1763. Pontiac took upon himself the capture of
Detroit.

This whole movement has been called "the con-
spiracy of Pontiac," and while the existence of ^{The}
conspiracy has been doubted by some historians, the ^{conspiracy}
phrase is probably a true one. But, as in almost all ^{discovered}
conspiracies, there was a traitor. Venus became in-
volved with Mars. A young Ottawa squaw, who is
said to have been in love with one of the officers of
the British garrison in Detroit, perhaps Major Glad-
win himself, revealed the plot to the commandant.
When the morning of the 7th came, Pontiac went to
the fort with a number of his chiefs on the pretense

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Pontiac's
coup
spoiled

of seeking a conference regarding provisions for the fort. Under the blanket of each of the savages was concealed a short-barreled musket. Ordinarily the soldiers would have been unprepared for attack and the reds would have been welcomed without suspicion, but that morning on the entrance of Pontiac and his companions they saw the entire garrison drawn up as if for battle. With that imperturbability characteristic of the redskin, Pontiac showed no discomfiture whatever, transacted his business with directness, and then withdrew. There is a story that during the conference Gladwin threw back the chief's blanket, disclosing the musket, but the credibility of this story is questioned. The next morning when Pontiac presented himself at the gate for entrance he was ordered away, and then he knew that his designs were fathomed. He at once began to lay siege to Detroit.

Lacrosse
as an open
sesame

In the mean time many other posts had been taken by the Indians. The English settlers in Virginia and Pennsylvania were again subjected to a scourge like that of 1753. The capture of Michilimackinac was effected by a stratagem almost worthy of the wooden horse of the Trojans. The Indians of the Chippewa tribe prepared for a game of lacrosse just outside of the fort, to which the entire garrison was invited. While the game was going on and the attention of the garrison was attracted elsewhere a number of squaws entered, one by one, through the unguarded gate of the fort. Soon the ball was carried down the field toward that gate. After it rushed the whole troop of savages. When they reached the gate they poured in where the squaws awaited them with tomahawks which they had con-

CANADA UNDER THE BRITISH

ceased under their dresses. With these tomahawks the savages in a few minutes captured or slew the entire garrison.

THE SIEGE OF DETROIT

MEANWHILE Pontiac was pressing the siege of Detroit with all possible vigor. Settlements nearby were surprised, burned, and many of their inhabitants scalped. A reign of terror came to the region which had been for almost a century peaceful and quiet. The position of Detroit, however, was at no time desperate. The garrison had in their possession a small armed vessel with which they kept the savages at a distance and were also able to maintain communication with the outside world and get supplies from the woods and the lake.

All the time, naturally, their eyes were turned to the east for help. Only one post on Lake Erie was still safe. That was Niagara. Strong enough to beat back the savages, it was really quite weak. Yet early in the summer it contrived to send two expeditions toward Detroit. The first, under Lieutenant Cuyler, was overwhelmingly defeated by Pontiac near Detroit. The second, under Dalzell, reached Detroit safely and encouraged the garrison very much. But Dalzell induced Gladwin to attempt a sortie which proved an utter failure. It was over a year before Detroit saw another relief expedition and many times the garrison was almost in despair. Pontiac all this time kept up the siege in a sort of way. During the winter, to be sure, he retired from the neighborhood, leaving only a few men to keep watch, but in the spring he returned with a strong force. From the beginning to the end of the siege

A reign
of terror

Trying to
relieve
Detroit

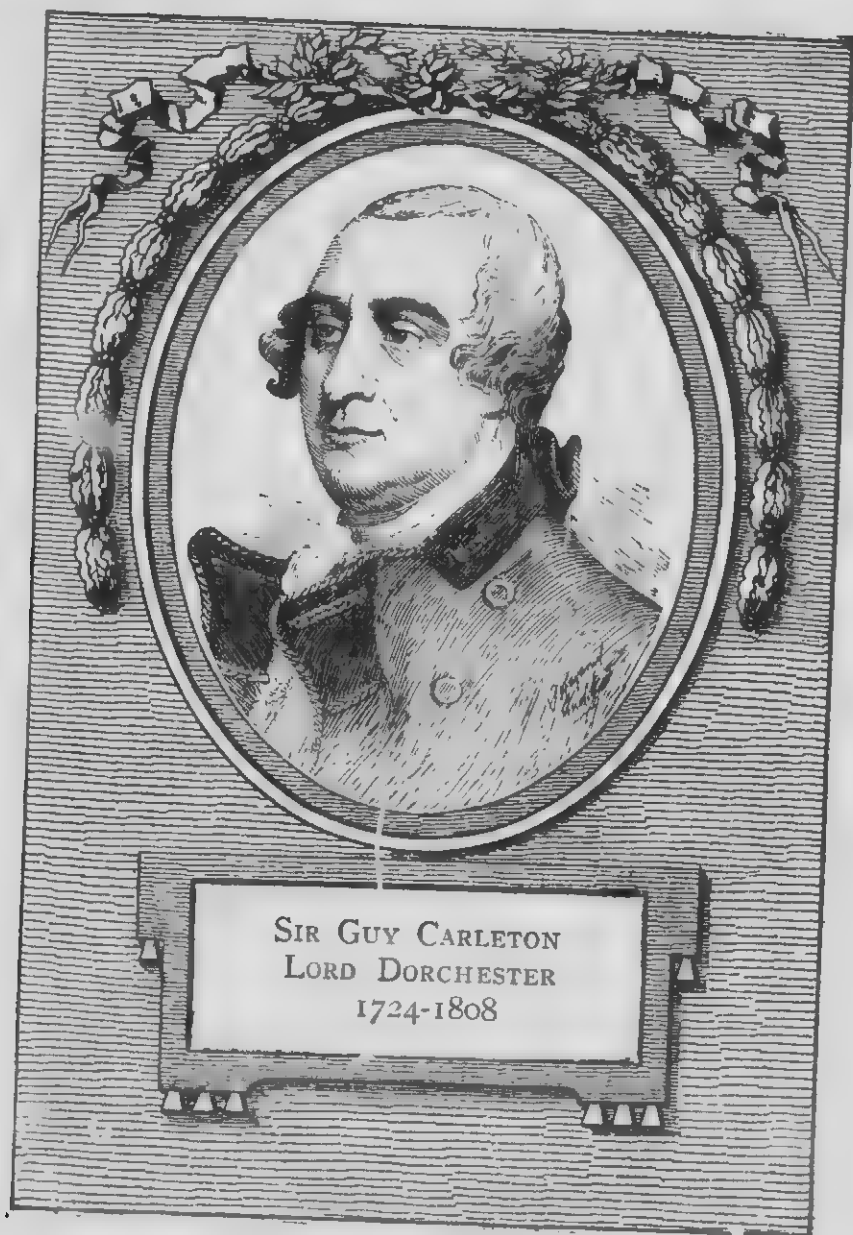
THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

A long
siege

was the astonishing time of fifteen months, the longest time, so far as I can learn, that any band of savages ever kept to one purpose in all the history of North America. Undoubtedly, had it not been for happenings in the east, Detroit would have gone under.

Fort Pitt
baffles the
savages

In the east, using that term relatively, the strong British post was Fort Pitt, the site of Fort Duquesne, where Pittsburg now stands. The commandant there, Captain Ecuyer, was of the right stuff. With his 350 men he made a resistance so stout and energetic that the vast hordes of Delawares who rushed upon it day and night for five days were at last compelled to give up and retreat. They did not, however, abandon their purpose, but continued to make occasional attacks upon the fort and kept a close watch that no relief should reach it from without. But a relief expedition was soon headed that way. It was commanded by Colonel Henry Bouquet, of Swiss extraction, who had served in wars for Holland and came to America in the Duke of Cumberland's regiment in 1755. Colonel Bouquet was stationed at Philadelphia when the order came to him to march to the relief of Fort Pitt. Amherst had directed that the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Connecticut assist with troops in this expedition. But with the exception of Virginia they all made excuses. On the part of Pennsylvania this was unpardonable. Those Quakers and Germans actually refused to furnish the men and money with which to defend their own borders from attack and their citizens' homes and lives from ruin. It will be well to remember these facts when one considers the abuses heaped later upon England by these same



THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The bloody
battle of
Bushy Run

colonies. Pennsylvania and the other colonies made up their minds, apparently, that it was England's duty to protect them and that England was abundantly able to pay for this work. Bouquet at length set out with the Virginians and two regiments of regulars, and he reached the vicinity of Fort Pitt about the middle of August. The Delawares, hearing of his approach, set out to meet him, and the resulting battle took place on August 16th at Bushy Run, in the western part of Pennsylvania, about sixty miles from Fort Pitt. It was a most desperate and bitterly fought contest. Bouquet was compelled to fight around his convoy of supplies and to endure one of the fiercest attacks ever made by Indians. For one whole day and part of the next the battle raged, when, by strategy, the Delawares were lured into a movement consisting of a feigned retreat, and after a few minutes' hot fighting were surrounded and put to flight. After that contest and the relief of Fort Pitt, the power of Pontiac and his allies steadily waned. Many of the Indians deserted his standard, and he was unable to present a front against the expedition which in the summer of the next year was sent out to relieve Detroit.

Brad-
street's
failure

That expedition consisted of about 1,200 men, regulars and Massachusetts, New York and Connecticut militia, under Colonel John Bradstreet, who was to dim the lustre which he had gained in the Ticonderoga and Fort Frontenac campaigns of the "French and Indian War." Bradstreet proceeded as if he had full powers to make peace and settle all the details of negotiations, while as a matter of fact his only errand was to relieve Detroit. He actually made a sort of peace agreement with some of Pon-

CANADA UNDER THE BRITISH

tiac's men, who sent a deputation to meet him at Sandusky, and he sent one of his men into the Illinois country to proclaim the peace and to secure more signatories to it. This man narrowly escaped with his life, and at last reached Detroit some time after Bradstreet had departed and was already on his way back to Niagara.

In the mean time Bouquet had started from Fort Pitt into the heart of the enemy's country, engaged in a punitive expedition and with authority to give the terms upon which peace could be made. Bouquet was Bradstreet's superior and was thunderstruck when he heard of the latter's work. Naturally, the Indians pretended to be confused by the conflicting attitude of the two British officers. But they knew that Bouquet had authority and, although he was in a hostile country and surrounded on all sides by the greatest perils, that, too, in a country (central Ohio) into which an army had never penetrated, he kept up a brave front and a severe attitude and won his case. Meanwhile, he sent word to Bradstreet to join him. But Bradstreet turned tail, and pleading the necessity of returning to Niagara, went back East. He had been unopposed on his way to Detroit, and the party saw no fighting at any time. But the way home was full of hardships for his men, and he was roundly blamed for the arrangements. Bouquet was able not only to enforce peace but also to secure the release of a large number of prisoners. The peace which he really inaugurated was confirmed by a small party led by an officer named Croghan, who went into the Illinois country and brought several prominent chiefs with him to Detroit. There Sir William Johnson had

Makes
peace
without
authority

Conflicting
plans of
Bradstreet
and
Bouquet

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Peace
treaty
signed,
August,
1765

arrived with full powers, and there Pontiac and the other chiefs signed a treaty of peace in August, 1765, which bound to the British cause all the tribes of the Great West as it was then known. Pontiac ought to have been hanged, but he met his deserved fate a few years later when he was assassinated by another savage in the woods near Cahokia, on the Mississippi.

Bouquet's
honors and
death

To Bouquet, Great Britain and the English colonists had great cause to be grateful for a very important work at a critical time. On his return from the West he was honored by Pennsylvania, which had so meanly treated him and his cause, and was also promoted to be a brigadier general in the British army. He was then assigned to the command of Florida, and died in Pensacola a few years later. Rumor had him broken-hearted over an unsuccessful love affair while in Philadelphia, and this may have contributed to his early death at the age of forty-five, but fever is the prosaic term given for his complaint.

CANADA UNDER MURRAY'S RÉGIME

General
Murray
appointed
Governor

WHILE the suppression of this Indian insurrection was going on, important changes were occurring in the Administration of Canada. General Amherst had grown tired of his command in America and asked to be relieved. It is said by his intimates that he foresaw the ugly rebellion that was coming and wished to be well out of it. In 1763 he was ordered home, and Gage succeeded him, with headquarters in New York. General Murray about this time was formally appointed Governor of Canada, but did not enter into his office until the next year, although he

CANADA UNDER THE BRITISH

had been *de facto* or military Governor since 1760. The new Government defined A royal proclamation in the fall of 1763 defined the new Government and divided the newly-acquired regions into Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada. As belonging to Quebec was included the whole vast Ohio River and Mississippi River country, which the other colonies, especially Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York and Maryland claimed as belonging to them on account of the sacrifices they had made for it. The Quebec Act of 1774 (of which we shall know more presently) increased the dissatisfaction over this assignment of territory.

Another feature of that proclamation provided for a primitive form of rule, promising a Constitutional Government when times would permit, and in the mean time providing for a Crown-named Government. More important still, it provided that the laws of Great Britain should prevail in all civil and criminal cases. This led to all sorts of complications and misunderstanding. As Dr. Munro points out,¹ The system of courts which was inaugurated was wholly foreign and new to the conception of the habitant. There were justices of peace appointed in the various districts, and above them, of course, higher courts with ramifications which distressed the habitants to an incredible extent. The judges were Britons, the juries Frenchmen, and an interpreter was necessary that both might know what was going on. The habitants had never before heard of a jury and lost sight of the popular and democratic feature of the system in their aversion

¹ "Canada and British North America," by W. Bennett Munro.

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

to the obligation of their attendance on its sessions. **Wrangling begun** The confusion grew so serious that in two months Murray was compelled to modify the system in so far as it applied to land tenure and to cease dealing with the rights of inheritance. Another source of dissatisfaction with the administration was the division of the people into two parts, "the old subjects" and "the new subjects." The former term was applied, not as one would presume, to the French Canadians, but to the small British element in Canada or those who came in with the conquerors, while the natives of the soil were called "the new subjects." Furthermore, these "old subjects" began their Canadian existence by asserting their claims to preferment. There were only a few hundred of them at first, but they assumed full authority.

The story of all the disturbances of Murray's régime is almost wholly a story of law and justice difficulties. The government of the colony was administered by the governor and his council of seven men, the Chief Justice and the Attorney-General. It was impossible that this council should always act wisely, and it certainly was concerned with many things. Chief of the disputes that came to it were these court cases. A region which had known practically no free judicial system when it received that boon did not hesitate to abuse it. **An amazing grand jury** The first grand jury, for example, instead of presenting criminals to justice and in general busying itself with its proper duties, actually made a presentment to the judge of complaints of abuses in the government of the province—a proceeding that amazed the judge and called forth a vigorous rebuke. A large share of this trouble came from the British element, which

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PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING, CHARLOTTETOWN, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

CANADA UNDER THE BRITISH

seemed to delight to stir up strife. Nor was the attitude of the justices always free from prejudice or political purpose. Wrangling took place throughout the colony. An affair at Montreal, in which a justice named Walker was involved, led to an assault upon him by the military element in his room, in which he was left almost dead and with one ear cut off. The echoes of this affair continued to resound in the colony for years. Then there was trouble over the currency. Bigot had issued paper money in reckless fashion and its irredeemable nature caused distress and cheating when the British came in.

Trouble
over the
currency

Murray was also having trouble with the military commanders, those at Montreal and Three Rivers refusing to recognize him in his military capacity after his appointment as governor. The contest over religion did not cease. The home government did not plainly and definitely fix the status of the Roman Catholic religion, and the priests and people grew very restive about it. They were now without a spiritual head, the good Bishop Pontbriand having died a short time after he had laid Montcalm away and no provision having been made for the selection of his successor. Lacorne, head of the Jesuit chapter at Quebec, had busied himself about the affair and succeeded in getting the French Ambassador to England to interfere, with the result that the Ambassador was snubbed and Lacorne was discredited. A priest, M. Montgolfier, was a candidate for the place and was really selected by the priests for it. Murray, however, favored Mgr. Briand, and at length he was selected by consent of the British Government and consecrated in 1766

Bishop
Briand con-
secrated,
1766

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Murray's
recall

Paris in March, 1766. The very day of his arrival in Quebec was that of Murray's departure, June 28. The latter's enemies—and they were many—convinced the home government that he should be recalled, and this was done in a way that was not at all consistent with the worth of the man. Undoubtedly Murray was a most valuable officer for Canada. He had acted honestly and courageously and, on the whole, wisely. His recall was an evidence of the blindness of the king's ministers, a blindness which was only too evident in those cloudy days.

Murray's choice of Briand turned out to be an excellent one. The new bishop had spent all but the first two years of his life as a priest in Canada and was canon of the Cathedral of Quebec. He lived to be eighty-one years of age, having seen "the death of the coadjutor of the coadjutor of his first coadjutor."

His defense

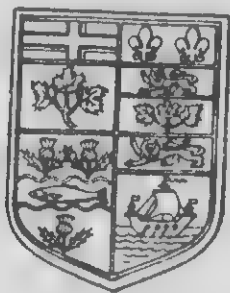
The letter which Murray wrote to the Earl of Shelburne in defense of his administration is an extraordinary and remarkably convincing document, arraigning most powerfully both the actions of the British element in Canada and the Government in Great Britain for the regulations and the officials they sent to America. It was warm in defense of the Canadian people, concluding with these eloquent words: "I glory in having been accused of warmth and firmness in protecting the King's Canadian subjects and of doing my utmost to give to my royal master the affections of that brave, hardy people, whose emigration, if it ever shall happen, will be an irreparable loss to this empire, to prevent which, I declare to your Lordship, I would cheerfully submit to greater calum-

CANADA UNDER THE BRITISH

nies and indignities, if greater can be devised than hitherto I have undergone."

The after history of Murray was most honorable ^{Murray at} and was filled with very interesting experiences. He ^{Minorca} was in command of that oft-besieged fortress, Minorca, and defended it with such valor that when it capitulated in 1782 the physical weakness of his men exacted pity and admiration from the enemy. For his capitulation he was court-martialed but acquitted, and a few years later died a full general in the army.

The only justification for the recall of Murray was an *ex post facto* one; it lay in the success of his successor, Sir Guy Carleton, afterward Lord Dorchester.



CHAPTER XXXI

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF CARLETON AND THE QUEBEC ACT

Carleton
lands, Sept
21, 1766

GENERAL CARLETON was with Wolfe at the siege of Quebec as Quartermaster-General. Yet because of the inefficiency of his engineering staff, Wolfe relied upon Carleton as his principal engineer officer. Wolfe liked him so well that he left him £1,000 in his will. After the conquest Carleton remained at Quebec. In 1762 he assisted in the siege of Havana and was seriously wounded. From that time on he was in England until appointed to relieve Murray. He landed at Quebec on September 23, 1766, though it was not until the 25th of October, 1769, that he actually became Governor-in-Chief. We shall see throughout the entire period of English rule of Canada how the Governor-Generals appointed to succeed those who had proved unsatisfactory, very frequently pursued the same policy as their predecessors. This was the case with Carleton. Like Murray, he saw that one great source of trouble was the selfishness of the small body of English residents; that the unrest on the part of the French proceeded largely from the aggressions of the English. During the next seven or eight years the history of Quebec and Canada is on its surface

Selfish
English
residents

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF CARLETON

very little else than the bickering and petty squabbling of these two factions. The French Canadians have always been a contentious people, and the administration of justice during this period was in a terribly unsatisfactory and involved condition. There were various plans proposed for the alleviation of these burdens, but it is unnecessary to give them in detail. One of the principal officers of the Government was Francis Masères, the Attorney-General. Carleton commissioned him to make a report on a plan for reform, and his report undoubtedly had great weight in the final settlement. Masères was, however, like most of the descendants of the exiled Huguenots, a very bitter anti-Catholic, and was not in favor of allowing the Roman Catholics any share whatever in the government. With this scheme Carleton was no more in sympathy than was Murray, and the Governor soon came to see the limitations of his Attorney-General. Soon after Masères's report was delivered to Carleton, in February, 1769, Masères obtained leave of absence and returned to England, never again to live in Quebec.

Masères is a
strongly
anti-
Catholic

During this period, while it was impossible to make any radical reforms in the method of government, Carleton did institute some important changes. These were largely in restricting the power of magistrates and the evils of pettifogging lawyers, but he was unable to accomplish as much as he hoped, so he obtained leave of absence for six months and on August 13, 1770, left Quebec in order to present his ideas of law reforms before Parliament and the king's ministers. This period of six months really became four years, for it took Parliament so long

Carleton
goes to
England
to get
better laws

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

to pass the new regulations. It is noteworthy that two years before Carleton left he had reported to the Government the feeling of unrest in the southern Provinces. In fact, he seemed to be more alive to the situation than did General Gage, who commanded there. During Carleton's stay in England Cramahè, a Swiss Protestant, acted as Governor. He had been a member of the Council and was respected by Murray as well as Carleton. During his régime very little of importance happened. The English residents continued to keep up their agitation for a popular House of Assembly, such as the southern colonies had, and they attempted to induce the French Canadians to join with them, but the latter refused.

Continued
agitation

PASSING THE QUEBEC ACT

THE slowness with which the British Government acted on the question of the judiciary of Canada seems incredible at this time, yet, as a matter of fact, the Act itself was passed with remarkable rapidity. Why it was not introduced into Parliament earlier we do not know. It was presented to the House of Lords on the 17th of May, 1774, and was passed there almost immediately. It passed the House of Commons on June 10 by a vote of 56 to 20. During the brief time it was before Parliament, a great many witnesses and counselors were examined, among them, of course, Carleton and Masères. The merchants of London objected to the bill because it suspended the English common law in Quebec and they petitioned the King to veto it, but he signed it without hesitation. This bill, known as the Quebec Act, was one of the most important

Quebec Act
signed

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF CARLETON

measures passed for North America. It was practically the Constitution of Canada, and one of its provisions undoubtedly assisted in the American Revolution.

The Quebec Act was in many respects a hodge-podge affair. It fixed boundaries as well as laid down rules for the administration of justice, and the observances of religion. If it had been passed ten years earlier it would have saved many years' trouble, for it did straighten out a good many sources of misunderstanding and unrest. The first section of the bill is an elaborate provision that the lands of the Ohio Valley, now in the great Middle West of the United States, should be made a part of Quebec. Another important provision guaranteed to the Roman Catholics the free exercise of their religion and that the clergy "should hold, receive, and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights." The oath of allegiance which the Roman Catholics were required to take was much mitigated from the oath required in Elizabeth's reign, which had been used up to that time, and the Roman Catholics were not compelled in any way to abjure their religion. The English criminal law which had obtained in the Province since the English period began and had proved satisfactory, was continued, but the French civil law, which had been superseded by the English common law up to this time, was restored. No popular assembly was granted, but a Legislative Council was established, consisting of not less than seventeen nor more than twenty-three members, nominated by the Crown with full powers of internal legislation and taxation. The Governor was given the veto power over their acts and to the Sovereign was allowed the

Catholic
rights safe-
guarded

French
civil law
restored

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

usual six months in which to veto any of the council's actions.

The Ohio
country
joined to
Quebec

The provision in this Act which annexed the Ohio country to Quebec was not only unjust, but impolitic and absurd. It was regarded by the American colonies of the south as inspired by a desire to punish the spirit of insubordination which was manifest there. Undoubtedly the Huron country and the sections which we now know as Wisconsin and Michigan and some parts of Illinois were tributary to Quebec and were settled by Frenchmen, but into what is now Ohio and Indiana had poured a large stream of immigration since the English conquest of Quebec and especially since the overthrow of Pontiac. These settlers were almost wholly from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and were practically all Englishmen, who felt that they belonged to the old English colonies whence they came. They had settled there largely under the auspices of the Ohio Company, and so prominent a man as Washington had been interested in these settlements and had made a tour of inspection and investigation in 1770. For these men and their country now to be included in Quebec, to derive their powers of government from the old French capital, would have been entirely proper if the French had won the French and Indian war and had acquired by treaty all that country. But under the circumstances this annexation of the Ohio country to Quebec was illogical. The other provisions of the Act were excellent in every way. The wisdom of restoring the French laws in civil affairs, of confirming the Catholics in their rights, and of refusing the grant of the representative Assembly is

A mis-
chievous
provision

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF CARLETON

patent to all who have impartially studied this period. Undoubtedly the measure was favorably received and even applauded by the great masses of the people. Only the British colonial faction was discontented.

With the passage of the Quebec Act, Carleton had finished his work in England and returned to Quebec. He had come none too soon for the safety of the colony. Every one there knew that the southern colonies were on the verge of an insurrection of some sort, and the necessity of securing harmony in Canada and of preventing the spirit of mutiny from becoming contagious there, as well as of putting the fortifications of Quebec in a proper state of defense, was urgent. The American colonists of the south were doing all they could to foment rebellion in Quebec, and had it contained any considerable number of American colonists the result would have been the same north of the St. Lawrence as south of it. The Continental Congress, in session at Philadelphia in September, 1774, passed an address to the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, which urged them to join with the other colonies in demanding a just form of government, and to choose delegates to the Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia the next May. This address is an exceedingly long-winded, turgid, and bombastic affair, full of italics and high-sounding phrases. It did, however, make a considerable impression upon the inhabitants of Quebec, and would have been much more effective if those inhabitants had not received relief and justice by the Quebec Act, the news of the provisions of which had just reached them.

Carleton
returns to
Canada
none too
soon

The Con-
tinental
Congress
tries
to induce
Canada also
to rebel

A
bombastic
address.

CHAPTER XXXII

REAL CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Interesting,
but not
important

WE have now come to the American Revolution, a period in Canadian history that is exceedingly interesting, but as it turned out, not vitally important. I take it that the real causes of the American Revolution are pretty well known to all readers, and I assume, too, that these causes are recognized as not those which Americans were once accustomed to regard as such. The vexing and widely blazoned Stamp Act and the embargo and the tax on tea and the Boston Massacre and those other exciting episodes, which are given full credit in the annals of the time and in the Declaration of Independence, are really not the main causes of the revolution. The big thing which compelled the colonies to revolt was not material. It was largely sentimental. The government of the American colonies by Great Britain was in many respects a model one, and certainly excellent in many details. The British Government of course, made a great many blunders, as all governments do in dealing with colonies, but the chief source of trouble was sentimental and geographical. The spirit of revolution was in the air. The doctrine of the equality of men was being urged upon all educated men and through them upon the masses throughout America as well as France.

Sources of
revolt not
tangible

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

This tended to make the colonists impatient of any direction except their own. It did not tend toward their own union except possibly for the merest formalities and for a military necessity which they felt vaguely might appear, but it did make intolerable the thought of their being ruled by any other power than their own. This was especially true and pertinent when that ruling power was three thousand miles away and separated from them by an ocean. The American colonies had grown to have over two million people. It was simply impossible that these two million Anglo-Saxons and pioneers should be governed even in the most beneficent and liberal manner by any king or ministry or people from beyond the seas. At first they did not consciously seek independence, but this spirit was the real foundation of the Declaration of Independence and was the excuse for that sonorous document. This is assuredly not saying anything to detract from the heroism and nobility of the American Revolution and its leaders. They were obeying an irresistible force and impulse, and that they risked their lives and fortunes in taking this action is patent and will be forever to their credit.

The progress of the revolution was helped along a great deal by the recollection of the many injustices of which the British Government had been guilty in the past, and of the narrow-minded way in which government had been administered and liberties had been doled out to the colonies. Still another thing of timely force was the absence of any foe on the continent to fight. Undoubtedly the conquest of Canada by the English, which was acclaimed in England and the southern colonies with

Would not
brook an
overlord-
ship

No longer
any French
to fight

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

great enthusiasm, hastened the Revolution. One of the strongest forces which bind men to political parties is not their love for each other or for their party, but their hatred of the opposition. Now, when there was no opposition, the colonists no longer felt any special affection for or dependency on England, and became very lukewarm British subjects.

Pitt's
absence
costly

It was just at this moment, when the wisest statesmanship was required in London, that England decided to dispense with Pitt and got one of the worst and most corrupt Ministries in her history. Instead of dealing tactfully with the sensitive colonists this Ministry determined to make the colonists help pay the expenses of the French and Indian War. Now it is indisputably true that a large percentage of the cost of that war was incurred for the sake of the colonies and because of their acts, and it was entirely proper that they should be asked to pay for a portion of it. Benjamin Franklin said that undoubtedly the colonists would have been glad to pay their portion if they had been asked to do it instead of having taxation forced upon them. This was a characteristically sophisticated and politic remark by Mr. Franklin, and undoubtedly was effective in reinforcing the argument for the American side in this controversy, but it was really befogging the issue. The American colonists were bound to be independent, and they would have resisted even a request to pay for these war expenses. They had determined to forget all the good things England had done and to remember all the bad ones, and nothing could stay their course.

Benjamin
Franklin's
sophistry

Pin pricks

The only thing that could possibly have put off the Revolution was, as I have said, wise and states-

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

manlike action by the London authorities. Instead of that, they blundered at every step. The Stamp Act was a blunder, and the repeal was a blunder in the way in which it was done, for when the repeal was made it was accompanied by a statement that Parliament considered it had a right to lay the tax which it had just repealed; something like a boy who has been beaten by another boy and then goes to his victor and tells him that if the latter will give him an apple he won't thrash him. The repeal showed weakness and encouraged the colonies, and the statement accompanying it only angered them. The result was worse than before from the British standpoint. The tax on tea revealed the same thing. This tax was a very small affair, not worth discussing, but the principle of the tax and the arbitrary way in which it was proposed to collect it made any submission to it by the colonists impossible. Then followed the Boston Tea Party and the Boston Port bill, an act of retaliation by the British Government which had the usual boomerang effect. This led directly to the Continental Congress in 1774, the formation of a system of committees of correspondence throughout the colonies, and other steps which from that time went on rapidly enough.

The centre of the agitation, as we have seen, was the uneasy, restless, obstreperous town on Massachusetts Bay. Gage had gone there some time before, hoping by show of soldiery to keep the people humble and subdued; but, as usual, the soldiers made themselves offensive and only aided the spirit of revolt. His attempt to capture that little supply of ammunition at Concord had consequences which it is not necessary to detail. That was on April 19,

British
Govern-
ment's
blundering

Lexington
and
Concord,
April 19,
1775

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Wash-
ington's
selection a
fine stroke

1775. On the following May 10th, the Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia. Almost the first thing that it did was to place Washington in command of the army which had been gathered together around Boston. This, to be sure, was not an army at all, but an aggregation of militiamen and volunteers of various sorts. But the act of placing Washington in command of this force was as shrewd a thing as the Continental Congress did. Washington was undoubtedly the best military leader in the country, and by putting a Virginia colonel in command of the Massachusetts force, Congress made one of those happy strokes which worked powerfully for the future union of the colonies in a way that they could hardly realize. While that army around Boston was waiting for the Continental Congress to meet, the war was carried up into the old fighting ground of the French and the Indian. The story of the capture of Ticonderoga on May 10th, by a force of Connecticut militiamen, sent there by nobody, under Colonel Ethan Allen, "in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," is too good a story to lose, even if the "higher criticism" of these iconoclastic days has attempted to destroy it. At any rate Colonel Allen, with Colonel Benedict Arnold, took Ticonderoga that day and four days later Crown Point fell. Allen then pushed on in his irresponsible campaign down the lake toward Sorel, but soon was compelled to return.

Ticonde-
roga and
Ethan Allen

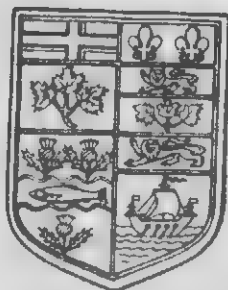
Carleton
hurries to
Montreal

By this time the news had reached Montreal and naturally excited great alarm there. Information was at once sent to Carleton, who immediately despatched troops to Montreal, leaving only a small garrison at Quebec. It was the 26th of May

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

when Carleton reached Montreal. He soon saw that any attempt to defend the city would probably fail, but he tried to arouse the people. The Quebec Act had been in operation only a few weeks, since the 1st of May, and the people were not wholly convinced of the genuineness of its guarantees. For this reason they were slow to enroll themselves as militiamen, even when Carleton called out the militia. The people were also dissatisfied because they were not allowed to choose their officers. Even the English inhabitants were recalcitrant. Finally, however, by dint of great urging, a small force was got together at Montreal and reviewed by Carleton. The withdrawal of Allen's force removed the immediate source of danger, but it did not lessen Carleton's fears as to the ultimate result.

The people
dissatisfied



CHAPTER XXXIII

ARNOLD AND MONTGOMERY'S INVASION OF CANADA

Congress
plans two
campaigns

WE are now to see the war continued into Canada, and shall follow this portion of the campaign, touching on the operations in the southern colonies only as they are directly connected with Canadian affairs. It had been determined by the Continental Congress, which was now in full swing and bent on resistance, to make two campaigns against Canada. One of these was commanded by General Richard Montgomery, who, the reader will remember, was with Wolfe at Quebec, and the other was under Benedict Arnold. Montgomery was ordered to proceed along the Lake Champlain route and capture Montreal and then, if necessary, join Arnold in the reduction of Quebec. Arnold was to proceed by way of the Kennebec and the Chaudière rivers. This expedition of Arnold was to be the first one to take that route into Canada, although during the first Vaudreuil's time one object of the French expedition against the English settlements in Maine was to prevent any English party from going up that way to reach and attack Quebec.

Canada's
pitiable
condition

Carleton was in a sorry situation and was unable to make an appropriate defense of the colony. He had only about a thousand regulars and not a single

ARNOLD AND MONTGOMERY'S INVASION

armed vessel. It looked at the beginning as if the easiest task of all for the Continentals would be to capture Canada, not only because of its defenseless condition, but because of the supposed disloyalty of the people. The British authorities either did not think Canada worth saving or did not appreciate the difficulties of Carleton's position, for while they poured troops into Boston they waited long before they started any for Canada.

Carleton had written to the home Government of the feasibility of making Canada a base of operations for the coming war, but the dull Ministers seemed to have no conception of the real situation. Not only did they lend no aid to Carleton at that time, but the Secretary of State for the Colonies exhibited his monumental ignorance and incapacity by writing to Carleton and ordering him to raise a force of 3,000 men for the purpose of reenforcing Gage's army in Boston—this, when it was impossible for Carleton to raise 500 men in the colony to protect it from invasion. Two weeks later the same officer asked Carleton to send 6,000 instead of 3,000! Just why the British Ministry should have so relied upon the loyalty of the Canadians it is impossible to discern. It is only another illustration of the good luck the American colonies had in the sort of people who then ruled Britain. Carleton had sense enough to pay no attention to such requests, but in turn sent a ship to Boston to ask Gage to send him two regiments. Gage had just left for England, but Lord Howe was in command and was willing to grant the request. Admiral Graves, however, declined to furnish the vessel on the ground that during the month of October

Carleton's
plight and
London's
blunders

No aid
from
Boston

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

it would be impossible to take it up the St. Lawrence to Quebec, so Carleton was thrown back on his own resources.

Montgomery starts

By that time the expedition under Montgomery was already on its way. At first Montgomery was second in command, Philip Schuyler being the leader, but after the invading expedition had reached Île-aux-Noix, at the head of Lake Champlain, Schuyler was taken ill and compelled to return. Montgomery continued and really had very little difficulty in getting to Montreal. A rash advance

Ethan Allen captured

party under Ethan Allen, numbering 150 men, attempted to surprise the city, but warning was given and when the attack on the city was made the response was so overwhelming that thirty-five of the Americans were taken prisoners, including Allen himself. He was put in irons, taken to Quebec and then sent to England and confined in Pendennis's castle near Falmouth.

Carleton narrowly escapes capture

Montgomery advanced sharply, capturing both St. Johns and Chambly without great opposition and obtaining guns, ammunition, and provisions, of which he was sorely in need. An expedition which Carleton had led for the purpose of relieving St. Johns on October 30th was a complete failure, and Carleton was compelled to return to Montreal. He saw plainly that he could really entertain no hopes of saving Montreal. Out of 12,000 to 14,000 people in the city itself, besides those of the surrounding country, he had been able to get only about 800 volunteers. So on November 11 he left Montreal by boat and succeeded in making his way to Quebec, narrowly escaping capture. Two days after his departure from Montreal Montgomery entered it

ARNOLD AND MONTGOMERY'S INVASION

almost without opposition. He had thus, in about two months, taken possession of nearly every important post in Canada, including the metropolis, gained large stores of provisions, guns, and ammunition, and had lost only a handful of men. It looked very much as if Canada's British days were to be few.

Montgom-
ery enters
Montreal

Arnold's expedition consisted of ten companies from New England and three companies from Virginia and Pennsylvania—1,200 men in all. The troops assembled at Cambridge, Mass., on September 11 and marched to Newbury, where boats were taken to the Kennebec. Starting at its mouth on the 22d of September, they proceeded without interruption, but not without many difficulties. They toiled up the height of land, and ascending the Dead River, on the 27th of October reached the Chaudière. At that point trouble began. Three boats, laden with provisions and ammunition, were sunk while descending some of the rapids. This was a sad loss to the party, and from that time onward the rations were short. Some Canadian writers have attempted to picture this expedition as a sort of holiday party having a pleasant journey through the woods of northern Maine and southern Quebec, and some American writers have undoubtedly exaggerated its difficulties. There were perhaps few snowstorms so early in the year, but the feat of taking an army of 1,200 men through the unbroken forest of cold Maine and Quebec in five weeks was a remarkable one and could not have been without discomfort and privations. After descending the Chaudière Arnold found himself about the 1st of November at Point Levy, opposite Quebec. He had

Arnold's
memorable
expedition

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

but 800 men at that time, some of them having been invalided home and others under Colonel Enos returning under a misconception of orders.

Arnold
warmly
greeted

Arnold was everywhere received hospitably by the Canadians, and he felt that he was in a friendly country. He had no difficulty in getting supplies, and the morale of his troops was excellent. Quebec, right across the river, was about ready to surrender without a fight, and if there had been boats at Point Levy or the Isle of Orleans, Arnold could probably have taken the city then. Some of the inhabitants advocated surrender, but by dint of much urging about 350 volunteers were secured besides the 1,600 troops there for the defense of the city. On the 14th of November, Arnold crossed the river, landed at Wolfe's Cove and made his headquarters at Sillery. The next day he sent a messenger to the city demanding surrender. No response was made except a shot from the guns of the fort. A few days later he retired to Pointe aux Trembles ten miles farther up the river, and there sat down to await the arrival of Montgomery. All this time, we must remember, Quebec was without its Governor, and it was only a day or two after Arnold had established himself at Pointe aux Trembles that the vessel with Carleton on board passed him on his way to Quebec. If Arnold had only possessed a warship of some sort he might have gobbled a rich prize.

Carleton
eludes
Arnold

Sends to
England
for help

When Carleton reached Quebec he began at once to take as vigorous measures as the means at hand would admit. He sent one of the two or three ships in the harbor to England to report the desperate condition of affairs and to ask for help, and he drove

ARNOLD AND MONTGOMERY'S INVASION

out of the city several men who were secretly plotting to deliver it over to the Americans. Meanwhile Montgomery was making his way down the river to join Arnold. His force had been considerably lessened by illness and by the necessity of leaving garrisons at the various large places along the way. When the two armies got together at Pointe aux Trembles, they comprised only about 1,500 men without artillery. By energetic work Carleton had succeeded in mustering a few hundred regulars and about a thousand militiamen. The diaries kept by various persons in Quebec at that time show in what a desperate fear the city stood. Various schemes were devised by Arnold and Montgomery to capture the city, but they were not able to carry them out owing to the excellent spy system of the British.

Montgomery joins Arnold

THE ATTACK ON QUEBEC

At length on New Year's eve, during a blinding snowstorm, the assault was made by the two forces divided. Arnold, with about 600 men, entered the town from the north end through St. Roch's. His men drove everything before them at first, although Arnold was early wounded and carried from the field. At length entrance to the city was gained. There they were confronted by a barricade behind which was a superior force, who, after repulsing them, captured almost the entire number. In the meantime Montgomery was attempting to enter the town through the street which runs along the river, at the foot of the cliff leading to the Lower Town. At a certain point near where now stands a brick storage house a barricade had been erected. Behind this

December 31, 1775

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Montgomery killed
and Quebec saved

barricade a few men had gathered, badly frightened and ready to run. As Montgomery came forward leading his men the British determined to fire one volley before they retreated. This volley was most historic. Montgomery was killed and several of his officers were killed or wounded, and his men were completely demoralized. They hastily retreated, and soon afterward, on the receipt of the news of Arnold's repulse, retired from their position. The spot where Montgomery fell was awkwardly marked by a large wooden board nailed to the side of the cliff, which was plainly visible to passengers crossing from Lévis to Quebec. It bore the simple inscription:

Here Montgomery Fell

December 31, 1775¹

Americans
desperate

The condition of the American troops after this double repulse was desperate. Arnold was badly wounded, the men were without adequate clothing or provisions, smallpox, as usual, broke out in camp, and dozens of soldiers died. There was no hard money in the camp, and the Continental currency was away below par and was generally refused by the habitants. This little force got some reinforcements from Montreal, but was not strong

¹ During the year 1905-6 an attempt was made to remove the sign and substitute another, but because the sign to be substituted was one which attested rather the valor of the defense than the fact of Montgomery's death there was considerable opposition to it on the part of the French Canadians, which shows how strong the fair-play spirit remains in that race. At length a compromise was reached by which a better sign was placed where it marked the real spot of the encounter.

ARNOLD AND MONTGOMERY'S INVASION

enough to resume the aggressive. In April, Arnold recovered from his wound sufficiently to leave for Montreal and take command there. Wooster succeeding him before Quebec. On May 6th the relief which Carleton expected from England at last arrived. It consisted of ships and a few hundred troops and supplies. On the very day of the arrival Carleton set out to pursue the Americans. They had already observed the arrival of the ships and had begun preparations for retreat. Undoubtedly they overestimated the size of the reinforcements, for on Carleton's approach they fled in the greatest confusion, just as Lévis did, abandoning artillery, ammunition, and provisions. So rapid was their flight that it was impossible to catch up with them. They did not make a stand until they reached Sorel.

Meanwhile American affairs in Montreal had not been progressing well. In fact, the winter which the Americans had spent in Canada was very little assistance to their cause, for they lost in a large measure the sympathy of the French Canadians, which they had at the start. The Americans showed plainly their contempt for the Roman Catholic religion and especially for its priests. Their inability also to pay good money was a source of weakness in the eyes of the habitants, who, we remember, in the old French régime, saw at least one good feature in English troops—their gold coin, which the habitant was always glad to get, even if by so doing he furnished aid and comfort to his country's enemy. The attitude of the Roman Catholic Bishop, Briand, undoubtedly did much to hold the habitants to some sort of loyalty or at least neutrality during the struggle. He had issued a *mandement*, calling

British
reinforce-
ments
arrive and
Americans
flee

Canadians
kept loyal
by Bishop
Briand

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

attention to the excellent government which the English had given the habitants, the liberality with which the practise of the Roman Catholic religion was permitted, and their own participation in government, and he besought them to join in the attempt to repel the enemy.

FRANKLIN IN MONTREAL

American
commis-
sioners fail

A FEW days after Arnold's arrival at Montreal, in April, three commissioners, appointed by Congress, on February 15th, also reached that city. These commissioners were Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase of Maryland, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, whose signature to the Declaration of Independence attracts attention. These commissioners had been appointed to see if some progress could not be made in bringing the Canadians to the side of Congress. They were accompanied by a brother of Charles Carroll, who was a Jesuit, and became afterward the first Roman Catholic Archbishop in the United States. The object of his participation in the expedition was undoubtedly that of influencing the habitants on their religious side. This can not be said to be the most worthy way of bringing about the result desired, but as their case was rather desperate at that time, the Americans evidently were willing to adopt extreme means to accomplish their ends. The commissioners used all arguments possible. They even tentatively suggested that Canada might be allowed to retain an independent position in its relations to the rest of the States. They were received very cordially by the people of Montreal, and in general by the residents of Canada, wherever they went, but the mission was a complete

Suggested
Canada
be inde-
pendent

ARNOLD AND MONTGOMERY'S INVASION

failure. They were compelled to report to Congress that there was no chance at that time of securing the moral support of the Canadian people, to say nothing of their active assistance. They also reported to Congress the deplorable condition of the troops, and secured an appropriation for their pay and to furnish them with provisions and clothing.

When the news of the arrival of reinforcements for Carleton reached Montreal, it caused the utmost confusion. It was soon determined to give up the entire city of Montreal and the posts along the St. Lawrence, but to make a stand at Île-aux-Noix. Meanwhile reinforcements continued to arrive at Quebec, and on the 1st of June General Burgoyne reached that port with seven regiments of infantry and four companies of artillery, as well as the German contingent. The next week Thompson, who was in temporary command of the American forces at Sorel, made a foolish attempt to recover Three Rivers, and was badly defeated; three hundred of the Americans were taken prisoners, including Thompson himself. Burgoyne was placed in command of the advance force of the British and was already showing considerable ability in the handling of troops and planning a campaign. After the defeat at Three Rivers, the Americans retreated precipitately to Île-aux-Noix, and after a brief rest there embarked for Crown Point. In the mean time the commissioners had preceded the army and were in Philadelphia making their report. There was just enough optimism in what they brought with them to justify Congress in sending some reinforcements. Some of these reinforcements actually reached the head of Lake Champlain, and were

Burgoyne
arrives,
June 1

The
Americans
retreat

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

turned back by the arrival of the retreating American force. Others got no farther than Albany.

ARNOLD'S BRILLIANT RETREAT ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

Carleton
proceeds
cautiously

WITH the Americans at Île-aux-Noix and preparing to retreat farther, Carleton felt that Canada was actually rid of invaders. Yet he was very desirous of driving them even farther south. He could not do this, however, until he had constructed some boats for use on Lake Champlain. This is the reason for the halting at that point of his campaign which was severely criticized. He really felt very confident of the success of his southern campaign when once he could get it started. He even hoped to organize the Loyalists of New York into a battalion, and received authority to raise "The King's Royal Regiment of New York." About this time aid came to him from an unexpected source. He received at Montreal a deputation of 300 Iroquois chiefs, who professed their loyalty to the British cause, and offered their services. A short time afterward another Indian deputation visited Carleton at Montreal, consisting of Ottawas and other tribes from the Huron country and other parts of the Lake region. He did not accept the offer of service from these Indians, although he had authorized the Iroquois to be recruited for service. Probably Carleton was very doubtful as to the value of Indian fighting, but thought a few Indians might be worth experimenting with.

Setting
the civil
machinery
in motion

Meanwhile Carleton had not neglected the civil government. The Quebec Act, as we have seen, had gone into effect on May 1, 1775, but owing to the

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revolution, it had been impossible to set the machinery going. Now with the enemy safely banished, he reestablished in Quebec a court of justice and restored the Legislative Council. Livius was appointed Chief Justice; Southhouse, who had been Attorney-General, resigned to become a judge, and Monk, from Nova Scotia, became Attorney-General.

During the late summer and the early fall Carleton was busily engaged in making preparations for the expedition on Lake Champlain. Work on the boats progressed with annoying slowness, so that the first week in October had arrived before the start could be made. Scouting parties had been sent out to learn the location of the American fleet, and on October 5th the British vessels left St. John. At Île-aux-Noix the guns and provisions were put on board, and in a few days the fleet was on Lake Champlain looking for the enemy. This fleet consisted of three armored schooners, a raft, a gondola, and 22 gunboats. On the 11th of October the first of the American vessels was sighted not far from Cumberland Bay, opposite Grand Island. She attempted to escape, but was unable to do so, and the captain ran her ashore on the east of Valcour Island and abandoned her, while the crew made their way to the main fleet. This fleet, which now came into the engagement, consisted of three row-galleys, two schooners, two sloops, and eight gondolas, carrying 90 guns in all, while the British had 87 guns. The engagement continued for two hours and was a decisive British victory. The strong wind blowing at the time carried the British schooners past Valcour Island, where the American fleet was formed, and they were unable to return for some

British fleet
starts south

American
fleet
defeated

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time. This left the gunboats to bear the brunt of the fighting, and they did it with great credit. One of these gunboats was blown up, but with no loss of life. Before the larger war vessels could return to the attack, the British gunboats had run out of ammunition, and all were withdrawn. Meantime the American fleet under Arnold had been badly injured, and its capture seemed certain. As evening came on the British boats formed in such a way that they completely surrounded and penned in the American fleet, and they only awaited the morning to renew the attack or receive the surrender.

Arnold's
daring coup

But Benedict Arnold, whatever his failings, and they were many, was a brilliant tactician. He determined to take advantage of the darkness and escape. Such an attempt must have seemed absurd even to himself, yet as soon as darkness had well settled down, and in October it comes early, he began his preparations for this daring coup. There was just a narrow interval between the last British gunboat on the left and the shore. How narrow or how wide that passage was we do not know, but it seems incredible that even with muffled oars Arnold should have been able to row fourteen or fifteen vessels, six of them rather large, right between the enemy's lines without their knowledge. Surely their watchers must have been even more than usually sluggish. The feat was carried out before midnight, and not until daybreak was the thing discovered. It is difficult to find in the history of warfare anything that surpasses this stroke in daring and brilliancy. True, it could not have succeeded had the British been on their guard, but in warfare the stupidity of one's opponent is something that must always be counted

Not discovered till
daybreak

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upon, and, on the other hand, discounted. Carleton was in a great rage when he discovered that Arnold had got away. He at once ordered the fleet to pursue. Arnold was bound for Crown Point, meaning to reach it and turn the guns of the fort upon Carleton's ships. But on the morning of the 13th, before he had got more than half-way from Valcour to Crown Point, or nearly opposite where Split Rock now is, the British fleet caught up with him. Firing began at once. After a few shots it was apparent that the British fleet was superior. Arnold's largest vessel, the "Washington," surrendered, and he ran the other vessels ashore, and set fire to them. Marching as rapidly as possible to Crown Point, he set fire to that also, and made his way on to Ticonderoga.

What should Carleton now do? It was the middle of October, and Ticonderoga, to which Arnold's force had fled, was already well garrisoned by the Americans under Gates. To make a campaign against that fortress with the two or three thousand men that Carleton had would have been a very serious undertaking. It was certainly a debatable question, and Carleton, who could seldom be criticized on the score of lack of energy, decided not to make the attempt to capture Ticonderoga that year. It would have been very difficult for him, after capturing it, to maintain communications with Canada all winter, and prevent the garrison from being surprised and taken. On the other hand, of course, to have taken the fortress would have been a magnificent stroke. On the whole, it is plain that the man in command was the only one who could make a just decision when all the arguments, pro and con, were so nicely balanced. His decision was made, not

Carleton
in swift
pursuit

Carleton
decides not
to attack
Ticon-
deroga
and retires

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Carleton's
decision
carefully
made

without investigation and deliberation. Boats were sent near enough to Ticonderoga to be fired upon, and the strength of the fort was seen to be so great that it could be captured only after a long siege, if at all—a seige which very likely the coming of winter would terminate. As there was no use in keeping Crown Point since no buildings were there, that place was also abandoned, and the entire force retired to St. John's.

CARLETON SUPERSEDED AND RESIGNS

DURING the summer Carleton had received several censorious letters from Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, but confident of the value of his services, he did not dream that there was any serious movement against him. Yet while he was doing his very best work, Germain was planning to humiliate and supersede him. Carleton found out afterward that the Ministry had been very much dissatisfied because he had not taken Ticonderoga, but according to Germain's own statement, he wrote on August 22, 1776, to Carleton announcing that Burgoyne, or some other officer, was to be put at the head of the troops in the campaign of the next year, which was to be made against New York.

A long-
delayed
letter

This letter, Germain, who was notorious for his carelessness about letters, said, he gave to one of Carleton's aides to be delivered to him at once, but that this aide could not reach Quebec that winter. The American colonists, as we have often seen, were very fortunate in having this Ministry to direct English affairs at that time. It is evident that when blunderers hold responsible positions, they will blun-

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der not only in a few things but in many. Burgoyne has been charged with being responsible for the slight to Carleton, but he denied it and there is no evidence to show that he had any hand in the plot. It is true, he had gone to England for that winter, but if, as Germain says, his letter to Carleton was written in August, certainly Burgoyne must be exculpated from any blame. Possibly Germain did not know that this order was an insult to Carleton. He claimed that he merely wished to leave Carleton in command of Quebec as Governor while the leadership of this expedition, which was to go clear down to New York, would properly be given to another general than the Governor, who could not be spared from Canada.

Burgoyne
not to
blame

Carleton had planned an expedition like this for that year, but he had no design to go further than Fort Edward and menace the settlements along the Connecticut, as well as organize royalist troops there. Germain's plan, on the other hand, was to send this expedition under Burgoyne to capture Albany and make a junction with Howe's forces, which were to come to New York, thus dividing the American territory in two. Of the two plans undoubtedly Germain's was the better, but there is really no reason why Carleton should not have been put in command of it. He had certainly earned that honor and could have been spared from the colony.

At any rate, it is well known that for some reason¹ Germain was prejudiced against Carleton and had

Germain
prejudiced
against
Carleton

¹ Germain had been dismissed from the army in disgrace in 1760, after the battle of Minden, and one of Carleton's friends had been a witness against him.

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Germain's
poor
reasons

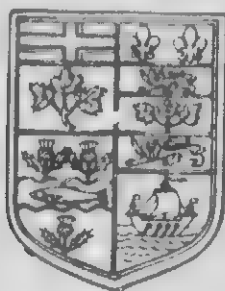
determined, if possible, to secure his recall. Such absurd prejudice was to be expected from such a Minister. In that letter, or a duplicate which finally reached Carleton in February, 1777, the general plan of the campaign was laid down and Carleton was informed that he was to retain 3,770 men for the defense of Canada. This letter to Carleton contained one passage so absurd as to make imperative its publication as illuminating the profundity of the ignorance of a British Cabinet officer. He blamed Carleton for Washington's victory at Trenton on Christmas night because Carleton had retreated from Ticonderoga, allowing the American troops near Ticonderoga to join the Congress forces in New York and in New Jersey.

Germain's
mastery of
geography

As a matter of fact, the distance between Ticonderoga and Trenton is about 300 miles, and the assumption that American troops could get from Ticonderoga through the woods and through British lines down to Trenton in time enough to help Washington defeat the Hessians is so absurd as to make one marvel that even such an ignoramus as Germain could have conceived it. It was this accusation on the part of Germain which astonished Carleton and caused him to protest. The letters which he wrote to Germain make very interesting reading. Germain was not able to make any reply worth considering. He declared that he had no personal animosity against Carleton whatever, but he in no way apologized or withdrew any of the offensive accusations which he had made. Carleton was very loath to leave the colony at the time when he felt that it needed him, but he saw that it would

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be impossible for him to work under such a master. Carleton's
and so on June 27th he resigned in a letter which ^{bitter} letter of
fairly stings with righteous rage and deserved re- ^{resignation}
proof, one sentence being: "I do not think it just
that the private enmity of the King's servants should
add to the disturbance of his reign."



CHAPTER XXXIV

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

The
Hessians
with
Burgoyne

IN spite of his letter of resignation, which was, of course, accepted, Carleton continued to remain in Canada for a year, assisting General Burgoyne in every possible way. Burgoyne¹ arrived at Quebec on May 6, 1777, and began at once to make preparations for the expedition. There were to be 6,840 infantry, of which the Brunswick regiments numbered 3,116. These Hessians, whose participation in this war made that name proverbial and synonymous with hired mercenaries, have in recent years had their connection with this war put in a more favorable light. We are not concerned in this history with the question, but we must feel that while these troops were furnished to the King of England because of his German ancestry and holdings and because it was customary in those days for these soldiers, not being needed to fight for their own

¹General John Burgoyne had had a rather successful military career up to this time, although his advancement had been helped by the Earl of Derby, with whose sister Burgoyne eloped and married. On his initiative the light cavalry was introduced into the British army. He had been a Member of Parliament with excellent promise. After the Revolution he became a successful dramatist, his comedy, "The Maid of Oaks," making a real hit.

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country, to fight for some other man's country for pay, it was a grievous blunder on the part of the King and his ministers to accept their services in a campaign against a struggling little people, such as the Americans were. Hiring them only inflamed to a still greater extent the wrath of the American colonists and probably converted thousands of doubting ones into partizans of Independence.

Burgoyne pushed the preparations for his invasion of New York with great energy and confidence. The expedition sets out, June 1, 1777 The feeling between British generals and officers was excellent. Carleton visited the troops at Chambly on June 1 to make his last inspection and take leave of the officers. They were greatly attached to him and sincerely regretted that he was not to lead them. On the 20th the troops embarked at Île-aux-Noix. At this time his command was joined by a small body of Indians to whom Burgoyne made an address, in which he showed utter lack of tact. He told them very abruptly that he The Indians offended would not countenance any unnecessary shedding of blood and that women, children, and prisoners must not be slaughtered. In other words he made a strong attack upon the barbarities which the Indians were so fond of committing. He could have said this in a very much different way and obtained the same results. At any rate few of the Indians continued with him to the last. They kept dropping away until by the time he crossed the Hudson only fifty remained with him.

TICONDEROGA TAKEN

THE expedition proceeded up the lake without being molested in any way. On the morning of June 26th

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British get
a coign of
vantage

Americans
escape in
the night

Crown Point was reached, and there a halt was made for the purpose of arranging the plan for the taking of Ticonderoga. After so many attacks that old fortress was now for the last time to be the scene of conflict. To the British view the capture of Ticonderoga looked like a formidable task. It was defended by twelve regiments or about four or five thousand men under the command of General St. Clair. In addition to Ticonderoga another fortress, Independence, had been built just across the lake, and four armed vessels were anchored between the two forts, and a large chain stretched from shore to shore. The British advance on both sides of the lake against this well-defended position was made cautiously. No firing occurred until July 2, when the fort opened up with heavy artillery on Fraser's brigade on the right. The British were unable to get any of their guns in position to accomplish anything until a happy idea struck them. On the map of this territory will be seen Sugar Hill, southwest of Ticonderoga, an elevation commanding both that fort and Fort Independence. It was plain to Burgoyne that the best way to damage the American forts was to get control of Sugar Hill. This was done on July 5. The heavy artillery was set up in position there and lively cannonading began between the two forces. This kept up all that day and most of the night, and when morning broke it was discovered that General St. Clair and his men had abandoned Ticonderoga and Independence and safely made their escape, a repetition of Arnold's ruse. They left behind them a large quantity of ammunition, artillery, and provisions, in the capture of which the

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British exulted, but it would have been a much greater victory if Burgoyne had captured the entire garrison. In fact, it was a very bad blunder that he allowed it to escape. This point has been lost sight of by the critics generally. From that time on, blundering seems to have become a habit with him. He had issued a proclamation on June 30th which was bombastic and boastful. It did him no good and subjected him to ridicule. He and his men seemed to have conceived the idea that the American troops would never stand against them.

Burgoyne's first movement was to send a small force under Fraser in pursuit of the part of the garrison retreating by land. They had crossed to the east side of the lake and were pressing along south. Fraser was allowed to go far ahead of the rest of his force, so that when he caught up with the Americans near Hubberton, he found that he was greatly outnumbered. He sent back for reinforcements, and when they came drove the enemy off the field, but the British loss was considerable; 36 were killed and 144 wounded, a loss which would have been largely avoided if the proper force had been despatched ahead in the first place. The effect on the American troops, however, was demoralizing, and they scattered in all directions. Undoubtedly this advantage was not followed up rapidly enough by Burgoyne, and while he was taking his time about 5,000 Americans under Schuyler were gathering at Fort Edward. This force made an advance along the road from Fort Edward toward Ticonderoga and engaged the British force at Fort Anne, but was defeated. Schuyler promptly burned Fort Anne and retired to Fort Edward. It would have been much

Burgoyne's
bombastic
proclama-
tion

Fraser's
precipitate
action and
loss of lives

Americans
burn Fort
Anne and
retreat

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A side
trip into
Vermont

better if Burgoyne had gone on to Fort Edward then, but he dallied and lost more time. He also sent a side expedition under Riedesel into Vermont to rally the royalists there and to attack a force under Colonel Warner, but Warner retreated to the south and Burgoyne would not allow Riedesel to follow him. So the expedition returned, its only result being that a good many Vermont royalists who were encouraged by the King's army to declare themselves were left naked to their enemies by the withdrawal of the British troops and were persecuted and in many cases probably ruined by the Revolutionists.

Fort
Edward
occupied

At length Burgoyne's advance was again begun in force, Fort Edward was abandoned by the Americans, and on the 31st of July Burgoyne reached it and took command. He had wasted perhaps two weeks on the way, but he could not be criticized for slowness if his succeeding movements had been energetic.

The murder
of Jane
McCrae

About this time occurred the murder of Miss Jane McCrae, about which many stories, bad poetry, and much fiction have been written. It is difficult to get the truth about this unfortunate woman, who was undoubtedly killed by the Indians belonging to Burgoyne's army. She lived near Fort Edward, and her family were on the side of the Revolutionists. She herself was engaged, however, to an officer in Burgoyne's army named Jones. When Burgoyne's army advanced toward Fort Edward, her family, along with the other Revolutionist families in that vicinity, retreated in the direction of Albany. Because of her attachment to her lover in the British army, she remained behind. But

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MAP OF BURGOYNE'S INVASION

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Feeling in
England
against
the use of
Indians

with this advance force of Burgoyne's army were some Indians, and they, finding no one at home but herself, seized her with the alleged view of bringing her to Fort Edward. On the way to the fort they got to quarreling among themselves as to whose possession she was, and one of the Indians in his fury struck her dead with his tomahawk. A great deal of popular sympathy for the American cause was stirred up in England as well as in America by that incident, and Burgoyne's reputation suffered correspondingly. Gates wrote Burgoyne a savage letter on the subject, which exaggerated the affair inexcusably. There is nothing to show that it was Burgoyne's fault except that his Indians were not accompanied by regular troops, which would have been a difficult rule to enforce in a forest campaign.

THE BRITISH DISASTER AT BENNINGTON

Object of
Vermont
campaign

ON the 9th of August the advance under Fraser crossed the Hudson River and made its way to Stillwater. Later the most of the army were transported to that place. Now ensued a period of inexplicable inaction. A good deal of this time Burgoyne spent in planning a campaign into Vermont. This campaign had two objects. One was to reassure the Loyalists who had been depressed by Riedesel's withdrawal, and another was to get control of some supplies belonging to the Americans, stored at Bennington. On the 1st of August the expedition, numbering 746 men, led by Colonel Baum, set out for Bennington. It was a heterogeneous company, consisting of Hessians and Indians, and Canadians and Loyalists. The Hessians were the butt of ridicule. They wore a tremendously heavy uniform, long

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heavy boots with great spurs, thick leather breeches, a huge hat, and a big sword. Such was the sort of dress which a third of this party was to wear in a campaign in the woods of New York during the month of August when the heat was intense.

The heavy
Hessian
uniform

The distance from the Hudson to Bennington was not very great, about twenty-five miles, and there was a chance for success if the party had been large enough. But apparently almost no preliminary reconnoitring was made. If it had the party would never have set out. The second day Baum came upon a party of American troops whom he drove off. Some of the prisoners then taken told him that the supplies at Bennington were guarded by about 1,800 militiamen, but that they were undisciplined, and inclined to be Loyalist sympathizers. Baum expected an easy victory, and actually believed the story that most of these militiamen would join his forces when they approached. He sent word to this effect to Burgoyne. The next day, however, he found that things were much more serious. He reported the presence of a larger force at Bennington than he had expected, and asked Burgoyne for assistance, which was promptly sent forward. On the morning of August 15th, while Baum was waiting for these reinforcements to arrive, the Americans, under General John Stark, advanced from their position at Bennington and made a sudden attack, both front and rear, upon Baum. The Canadians and Indians fled in a panic, but those ridiculous Germans with their heavy, uncouth uniforms, although surrounded and attacked by overwhelming numbers, fought like heroes. Baum was mortally wounded, and the

Baum
duped by
the Yankees

Stark's
sudden
attack

Hessians
fight
like heroes

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dragoons were cut to pieces, or captured. Only nine of them found their way back to Burgoyne's camp. It was before this fight that Stark is said to have told his men: "We shall either beat the British or to-night Molly Stark will be a widow." This story is probably not true, like most of the good stories of history. With Stark's subsequent history we are not concerned, except that he was accused of going into the British service afterward, and his property was confiscated. His exact status is really not settled, and forms one of those puzzles of the Revolution around which controversies rage even to this day.

Stark's
status in
history

This campaign was doubly disastrous for Burgoyne, because the force that he sent to help Baum lost its way, and when it did find the American troops it was badly defeated, 374 of them being taken prisoners. But aside from the loss in numbers on these two expeditions, the most serious result was their moral effect on the American cause. Burgoyne's rapid advance had terrified and almost paralyzed the Americans in Vermont. Now that these two expeditions were defeated, and Burgoyne was seen to have blundered so seriously, a reaction set in and the Americans everywhere took courage. Bennington was the first signal defeat to the British, although it was by no means Burgoyne's first blunder. From now on he was to experience nothing but blunders and defeats.

Blunders
and negli-
gence of
Burgoyne

Yet, aside from all the blunders and negligence of Burgoyne, his expedition was doomed to fail. Two circumstances were responsible for this outcome, laying aside the question of the folly or wisdom of Burgoyne's actions subsequent to the

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battle of Bennington. One of these was the encouragement to the American cause by that battle. The whole country took heart, and volunteers poured into the colonial camps. Washington, who had been watching the onward sweep of Burgoyne with great distress, saw as quickly as those on the spot the chance which the British defeat had given his cause, and promptly took steps to repel Burgoyne's further advance. He sent orders to two brigades, designed to oppose Howe's attack on the Highlands, to join Schuyler or Lincoln's force, which was on its way to the north. But by the time the reenforcements had got together a change was made in the command. Schuyler had some enemies in Congress, and his defeat at Fort Anne had injured his prestige, so after his plans for opposing Burgoyne had been fully advanced, Congress selected Horatio Gates to command the whole force. Gates was born and reared in England, but came to America when a young man. He was with Cornwallis in Nova Scotia in 1750, and was, as we have seen, with Braddock as captain of the New York troops. He afterward saw service in the West Indies, and became major in the Royal Americans. After the Seven Years' War was ended he left the army, returned to America, bought an estate in Virginia, and settled down as a farmer and gentleman. He had formed some intimacy with Washington, and was, according to all signs, a fairly competent officer.

Americans
encouraged

Gates
supersedes
Schuyler

WHY THE EXPEDITION WAS DOOMED

In the preceding paragraph I have stated that there were two circumstances by reason of which, after

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No
order for
cooperation
of Howe
with
Burgoyne

the battle of Bennington, Burgoyne could hardly have won under any circumstances. The first one has been given—the vigor and enthusiasm of the Americans after that battle. The other was the astounding failure of the plan of campaign in its intelligence department. It seems incredible, but investigations have shown clearly that no orders ever were received by Howe or Clinton to cooperate with Burgoyne! The British commander at New York was not notified that Burgoyne had been ordered to make a junction with the New York forces at Albany! Indeed, at the very moment when Burgoyne was leaving Fort Edward and advancing to the Hudson country, Howe with most of his force was on the water entering Chesapeake Bay, bound for Philadelphia. No more need be said at this time of this terrible blunder, for the details will appear in the course of the story, but the reader ought to know this in judging the actions of Burgoyne, against whom so much odium has been directed.

The
St. Leger
fiasco

Another contributing influence to Burgoyne's defeat was the failure of St. Leger's expedition. This was designed by Germain, and was worthy of its designer. It consisted of about 600 British soldiers under General St. Leger, and started from Montreal in June for Lake Ontario. At Oswego the force disembarked, and, accompanied by a few hundred Indians, set out to reach the Mohawk River and join Burgoyne at its mouth. It was an impossible scheme, and the force met its defeat in an attempt to capture Fort Stanwix on August 6th. Burgoyne knew before he crossed the Hudson that it had failed.

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Gates superseded Schuyler on August 20th, and advanced from the junction of the Albany and the Mohawk, where the army had been for some time encamped, toward Stillwater, where Fraser's men had been for some weeks, but which they had abandoned before Burgoyne's army left Fort Edward. That event occurred on September 13th, four days after Gates had arrived at Stillwater. Undoubtedly in leaving Fort Edward, Burgoyne crossed the Rubicon, and after that time his doom was sealed. He has been roundly criticized for starting from that place and risking the campaign's success by so doing. I feel that such a criticism is unjust. Crossing the Hudson and starting after the enemy involved no more risk than had appeared in the expedition from the first. If that act was over-venturesome, so was the whole campaign. He did not know that the British ministry had not notified Howe of the purpose of his march, and although before he left Fort Edward he had heard from Howe that he must shift for himself, he assumed evidently that the orders had been misunderstood, or had been delayed, and the expected junction would be accomplished. Then too, Burgoyne himself had not been as yet defeated. The battle of Bennington was a small affair, and he felt sure that with the whole army under his eye he would "muddle through" all these difficulties and win. It was self-confidence, egotism, and conceit, but if one were put in his place perhaps one might have done the same. Burgoyne's plea that no discretion had been left to him, and that Germain had commanded him to go ahead, is, however, a weak one. A big man would not have made it, but the average

Burgoyne
crosses the
Hudson,
Sept. 14th

Expected
to "muddle
through"

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man might have felt the force of that order very keenly, and with arguments pro and con, nicely balanced, this order from London to advance might have tipped the scale. But, no more about the arguments; let us to the story.

THE BATTLE OF STILLWATER

British
heard the
American
bugles

Fighting on
Sept. 19th

THE passage was made, as we have said, on September 13th. That and the next day were spent in re-forming the lines and preparing for the advance which began on the 15th. Three miles were made that day, and when the next morning came the British learned that the Americans were but five miles away. So near was it that the British could plainly hear the bugles of the Americans. A reconnaissance in force was made by Burgoyne and his generals, but no enemy was found. On the next day, the 17th, the British resumed their march, and made two miles. Only three miles now separated the two armies. The next morning, the 18th, American soldiers appeared in considerable numbers in the woods right ahead, and the British then knew that a collision was imminent. In spite of the plain showing of strength and confidence on the part of the Americans, Burgoyne on the next morning, because the British pickets reported no interference and no enemy, determined to continue the advance. No sooner had he started than Gates knew it, and prepared to receive him. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the first encounter took place. It was against the British left in the woods near the river. The contest raged all afternoon, and although the left was reenforced several times, and the artillery at the last got into the fight, the Ameri-

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can attacking force was much larger, perhaps three times as large, as the British. Poor generalship was shown in thus leaving the left to stand the whole brunt of the attack, and its losses were severe. But the British remained on the ground, and on that account claimed a victory, for the Americans withdrew. Yet Burgoyne had really made little or no advance, and the resistance he had encountered was from a small part of Gates's army, which, however, was strong enough to stop Burgoyne's whole force. This was the Battle of Stillwater. Perhaps 1,500 British were engaged, and the total loss was the alarming figure of nearly 500. The Americans had at least 3,000 men engaged, but the total of their losses is not known. It was only a little bush fight, but it was a bloody one, and it left the British very fearful of the morrow. A bloody little battle

Now was the time, say his critics, when Burgoyne ought to have retreated, and they declare that only the words of his bombastic proclamation on beginning his expedition, "This army must not retreat," prevented him from starting back to Fort Edward. But with the Americans only two miles away, how could he have got back to Fort Edward? The chances are that his every movement was closely watched, and that the very moment he turned would have been the signal for an assault from the rear upon his army, the very thing that finally did happen. Another thing that made Burgoyne slow to retreat was a letter which he received from Clinton on the day after the battle, announcing his determination to start an expedition against the American forts on the Hudson. There was no promise in this letter that Clinton

Why
Burgoyne
did not
then retreat

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would ascend the river to Albany, but Burgoyne, like many another sanguine person, hoped for something better than the promise, a thing which world-hardened men know one must not do. Still, even to the cautious man, there was a gleam of hope that this demonstration might draw enough men away from Gates's army to enable Burgoyne's whole force to retreat in safety. It did help, as we shall see.

THE FOOLISH BATTLE OF SARATOGA

British
army's
condition
becoming
desperate

THE news that Clinton had sent an expedition up the Hudson got out among the troops, and cheered them greatly. They did not know how impossible it was for Clinton, with his small force, to ascend the river far enough to be of any real help to Burgoyne's army. That letter of Clinton's, however, was the only cheerful event that had taken place since Fort Edward was left behind. No movements were made by Burgoyne for several days. In the mean time the condition of the army became more critical, day by day. Supplies were failing, and there was no way to replace them. Eight hundred men were in the hospital, and on the 4th of October the rations had to be reduced. The army suffered greatly from the lack of proper food and from cold. Several movements, of very little consequence or serious purpose, were made by Burgoyne's forces at this time, and some exchange of firing took place. On the morning of the 7th however, Burgoyne set out on a foolhardy expedition, almost as foolish as the proposition which he had made in a council of war a few days before to march past the left of the Americans and attack them from the rear.

A foolhardy
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PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING, VICTORIA BRITISH COLUMBIA

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

That proposition his generals promptly dissented from, and it was abandoned. The new one turned out to be as fatal. He set out to attempt a reconnaissance in full force. His entire army except one regiment, accompanied him, along with some artillery. This reconnaissance turned into a battle, not much of a battle, it is true, but the concluding battle of the expedition. The encounter took place about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the fighting continued all the rest of the day. Burgoyne soon found that he had come upon the whole of the American army. It was impossible for him to retreat, once he had stirred up the hornets' nest, so while he was acting wholly on the defensive, he was compelled to fight vigorously. In an attempt to support a threatened position, General Fraser was mortally wounded. Soon after that, Burgoyne, seeing that he was in danger of being surrounded, ordered a retreat, and it was made in good form. The Americans rushed after the retreating force, and attempted to seize the British intrenchments. One of these attempts failed, but another succeeded, and in the latter General Breyman, who had led the unfortunate force which attempted to save Baum at Bennington, was killed. Probably the only thing that prevented the annihilation of the British force was the darkness. The result was an American victory, which might have been more complete if the Americans had not for some unaccountable reason withdrawn that evening from their position.

The battle,
October 7th

Fraser shot.
Burgoyne
orders
retreat

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

BURGOYNE SAYS "TOO LATE"

Terrible
loss in
battle

It now required very little acumen on the part of any British officer or soldier to see that this army was sure to be overwhelmingly defeated, if not captured. The British had lost in those engagements the astonishing total of 1,216 men. The proportion of killed to the total loss was terribly high, for 353 men, including 40 officers, had fallen to rise no more. The total loss of the Americans was almost as great, but the proportional loss was much less. To retreat now was the only possible step to take, and at dawn the next morning the march north began. From this time onward it is of very little value to follow Burgoyne's movements. They were characterized by hesitation and vacillation, deplorable and almost incredible. One day it seems as if he was on the point of attempting to reach Fort Edward. Some of his troops under Sutherland had already crossed the river on the road to Fort Edward, but were called back. At that time a few American troops were at Fort Edward, but they might have been driven out, and the place taken. It was during one of these nights of gloom and despair in the army that Burgoyne gave a supper to his officers, where all was gay with women, song, wine, and laughter. This indulgence in an orgy is corroborated by several witnesses, and sheds the most damaging light on Burgoyne's character. The American troops meanwhile had got possession of Batten Kill, and from it poured a destructive fire upon the British army. The sufferings of the troops now had redoubled, the cold at night being very bitter. On

Burgoyne's
gay supper

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

the 12th Burgoyne summoned his generals for a "Too late" conference, to decide if any plan except surrender could relieve him of the present terrible situation. General Riedesel proposed to abandon artillery and baggage of every description, and retreat to Fort George, at the southern end of Lake George, with all possible speed. The other officers approved of the plan. All the preparations were under way. Ten o'clock at night was the hour at which they were to start. Riedesel at that hour announced to Burgoyne that all was ready. Burgoyne responded that it was too late!

Retreat
north
begins

He was right, in a sense. It was too late. It had been too late for a long time. It is possible that with the rather clumsy handling of the American army, Burgoyne might have reached Fort Edward, when he seemed to be making in that direction, or he might have reached Lake George, as Riedesel wished him to try to do. But it is not likely that he could have done either one of those things. It is more than probable that an attempt to do so would have simply meant more men killed on both sides, and nothing gained. Fate had dealt out the cards very badly for Burgoyne, and his blundering only served to show how consistent fate was in picking out the proper sort of victim to humiliate. Burgoyne had only about 3,000 fighting men, and 18,000 fresh and vigorous American troops had been pressing upon him from the time that he lost the battle of Stillwater on September 19. Many writers, especially of school histories, in the United States and Canada, declare that Burgoyne tried to cut his way through. From what we have seen of his campaign, it is evident that

The over-
whelming
numbers
of the
Americans

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

this impression is not a true one. Up to the very last he had some hopes of being able to accomplish the object for which his expedition set out, and, as we have seen, the last and decisive battle of all was the result of a reconnaissance on his part, not an attack.

It would have taken a great many circumstances to change Burgoyne from vanquished to victor in this campaign. One would have had to make the man over again, perhaps; but the fact is that no one except with the military genius of Napoleon or Wellington could, under the circumstances, have won that campaign.

THE CAPITULATION

Burgoyne
takes the
blame

THE only thing now to do after Burgoyne's determination not to retreat, was to treat for surrender. Again he called a council, and then his generals declared that if he saw the possibility of cutting his way through they were willing and ready to attempt it. The conference had no result, except that Burgoyne made a speech, in which he took upon himself all the blame for the situation, but the consensus of opinion was that a truce should be asked to provide opportunity for negotiations for surrender. The next morning this request was made and granted, and commissioners on both sides were appointed, and conferred. The terms asked by Burgoyne were rejected by Gates, and Gates's counter-terms were so severe that they could not be accepted. On the next morning, however, Gates sent word that he had changed his mind, and would agree to Burgoyne's terms. About the same time news reached Burgoyne which explained Gates's

Discussing

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

leniency. Clinton, in response to Burgoyne's appeal which he had sent to the commander at New York, after the battle of Stillwater, had sent three thousand men up the Hudson, and captured Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton. Some of the British boats ascended the river as far as Esopus Creek, and burned the town there. This was only sixty-six miles from Albany, and served to alarm the Americans of that region and to cause exaggerated reports to reach Gates and his army, leading them to assume that the whole British force from New York was actually on its way to relieve Burgoyne, whereas the British force which had captured Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton returned immediately. On the receipt of this information, Burgoyne was in much the same quandary as Ramsay was after he had entered into negotiations with Townshend for the capitulation of Quebec, and had then received orders from Vaudreuil not to surrender under any circumstances. There was, however, only one honorable thing for Burgoyne to do, and that was to surrender as he had offered to do, and after much hesitation, which reflects little credit upon him, he at length, on the 16th of October, 1777, signed the capitulation.

Clinton's
expedition
up the
Hudson

Capitula-
tion signed,
Oct. 16th

The terms were very moderate, and were principally that the Americans should guarantee the British free passage to Great Britain, Canadians being allowed, of course, to return to Canada, and that the troops should march out with all the honors of war. The number of men surrendered was about 5,000, and the numbers of the victorious army which had, of course, grown greatly in the past few days, with the assurance of victory, were

its terms

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

over 20,000, besides numerous camp followers. Thus it will be seen what an impossible proposition it was that Burgoyne faced. Assuming that he had 7,000 men when he set out from Fort Edward, it is practically certain that an American army had been gathered together at that time which was twice as large. No further comments are necessary.

The
Americans
break faith

There were a good many actions by Congress during this time of which Americans to-day can not be especially proud. One of these had to do with the breaking of Burgoyne's terms of capitulation. As we have seen, one clause of these terms was that the surrendered English should be transported to England. This was not done. Most of them were kept in prison at Boston,² and afterward in Virginia. The only attempt to justify this breach of faith was that the terms of the surrender were too favorable to the British, but this does not excuse violation of articles of war. It is true, there was some quibbling about colors, and undoubtedly Burgoyne hid his flags, as did Lévis at Montreal, so that they would not fall into the hands of the enemy, but this was a small matter, and the keeping in prison of the large force of men who had been guaranteed their liberty was dishonorable to the Americans. It was possibly legal inasmuch as Congress had a right to approve or disapprove of any convention made by generals. But the exercise of that right in this case was indefensible.

Quibbling
about colors

Every one knows that the chief effect of Burgoyne's surrender was the alliance of France with the United States in the following year. The atti-

² One of the streets of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was named after the Hessian general, Riedesel.

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

tude of France was entirely selfish. Up to this time the French leaders held off because they did not wish war with Great Britain, but now they believed that Great Britain was surely beaten and practically ruined, and that French invasion of England was possible. So the British were confronted from this time onward by France as well as the United States, and in the next year, June 16, 1779, Spain declared war against Great Britain. So plucky was that country under these burdens that one year later she declared war against Holland, thus fighting three nations and thirteen rebellious colonies at the same time.

We shall not attempt to follow the course of the war. Indeed, we have not done this so far except as it concerned Canada, and Canada's interest in the contest from now on was a very quiet one. Just before Burgoyne's surrender an attempt was made by the Americans to capture Ticonderoga, Fort Edward having already been occupied, but the 900 men which Burgoyne had left there made so stout a resistance that, with the approach of winter, the besiegers were compelled to desist. Soon after the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached the fort, however, Ticonderoga was abandoned, and with it the entire British control of the Champlain region. It was about the 1st of November when Ticonderoga was given up, and the whole fort, barracks, and block-houses were burned, and never since have been rebuilt.³

³ Of old Fort Ticonderoga now there remain only broken walls, but it is a well-marked spot, situated on an eminence and near beautiful summer resorts, and is cherished by the thousands of people who yearly visit it because of the many

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COURTS

Progress in
civil gov-
ernment

WHILE the fighting was going on between Burgoyne and the Americans, the civil government of Canada was being perfected. The Legislative Council met in the spring of that year (1777) for the first occasion when anything tangible was accomplished. Its acts comprised chiefly the necessary creation of courts of justice. A militia act was also passed, by the provisions of which every Canadian was liable to military duty. A number of other important ordinances were passed, all in the line of better government. About the inauguration of these courts there was the usual and most regrettable conflicts of authority.

Unfortu-
nate ap-
pointments

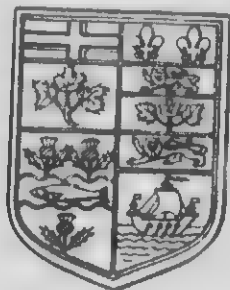
The London Government appointed men to office in Canada against the wishes of Carleton and, in general, of most of the residents of Canada. This was most unfortunate, because Carleton, presuming that his recommendations would be endorsed without question, had already appointed and instituted judges and other officers whose tenure of office, of course, expired when the appointments from London arrived.

One of the chief sources of the trouble lay in the Chief Justice, Livius, who had had a rather unsavory reputation in New Hampshire and whose after-career in Canada was full of rebellion and impertinence. The details of his acts show how

fierce engagements which have been fought there and the heroic figures which have moved about it. Its ruins, visible from the train or the Lake Champlain boats, are most picturesque and romantic, especially in the moonlight.

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

vexing and dangerous his administration was at this critical point in the colony's history. Carleton, ^{Livius} ^{suspended} after enduring a great deal from him, suspended him on May 8, 1778, a little less than a month before the Governor left for home.



CHAPTER XXXV

THE FIGHTING IN THE WEST

Haldimand
arrives,
June 26,
1778

FREDERICK HALDIMAND had been appointed Carleton's successor, and reached Quebec on June 26th, taking office the next day. Carleton with his family left for Europe in the same vessel which had brought Haldimand. It is hardly necessary at this point to pay tribute to the work that Carleton did for Canada. The record which has been given so far is all so favorable to him that no other tribute is necessary; furthermore, this term of office does not close Carleton's services, and in his later term we shall find occasion to speak more at length of his work as a whole. Germain, who had been the cause of his undoing in Canada and of the Burgoyne disaster as well, was angry because the King honored Carleton with a knighthood on his return, and resigned on this account, but the King persuaded him to remain.

The
career of
Haldimand

Of Haldimand we have read little that was not good. Like his comrade, Bouquet, he was born in Switzerland. He had known service in America both in the campaign with Braddock in the French and Indian War, and for a brief space of time in the preliminary struggles incident to the Revolutionary War, but during almost all of the period of that war up to this time he had been Inspector-Gen-

THE FIGHTING IN THE WEST

eral in the West Indies. The rule, which we have previously remarked upon, that very often the new Governor-General pursued identically the policy for which his predecessor had been displaced, holds largely true in the case of Haldimand and Carleton. Haldimand was perhaps a little more severe. Carleton would have been, but in general both were the same as Carleton's and he seems to have had the same opinion of men that Carleton

DANGER FROM THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

It was not a happy time for Canada. 1791 was the beginning of the period of the French alliance with the United States. In October, 1791, Count d'Estaing, Commander of the French fleet, issued a proclamation to the Canadians. It was distributed throughout Canada and was tacked on the church doors of every parish. It was an adroit appeal to French nationality and race prejudice, and it no doubt stirred up considerable discontent among the habitants. It even succeeded in unsettling the loyalty of some of the priests, who, up to this time, had stood by England in a very creditable way. But while it was thus attractive to the Canadians, it was in a degree offensive to the Americans. They saw in it a suggestion that in case of the success of the Revolution, Canada might be restored to France. This undoubtedly disturbed Washington a great deal. He was, to be sure, fighting against England, but he preferred very much in case Canada should not be American, that it should be English rather than French. It was undoubtedly his influence which made impossible such a tangle as might have occurred in case Frenchmen had invaded and captured

Wash-
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checked the
French
scheme

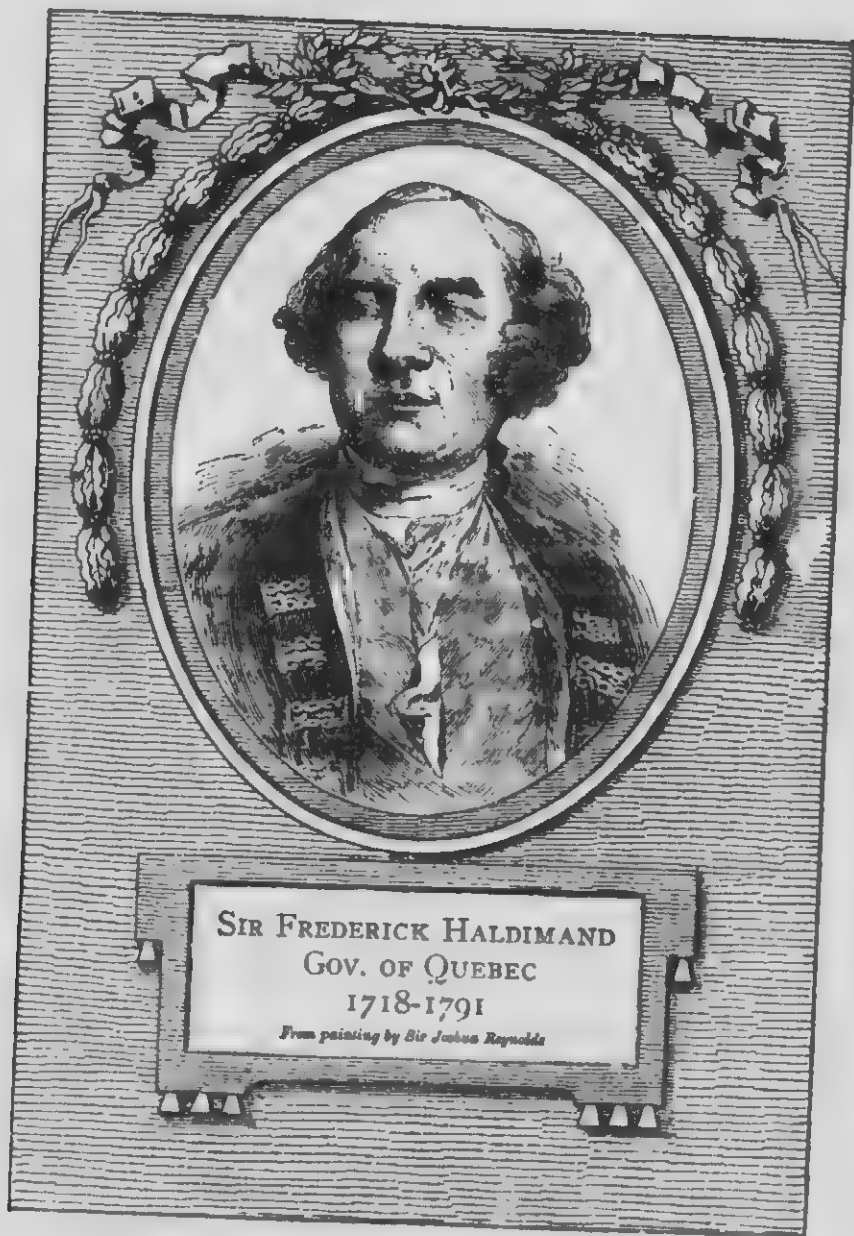
THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Canada. Lafayette proposed this invasion, and Congress favored it, but Washington secured its defeat. It is hardly open to question that, if D'Estaing had sailed with his fleet and a reasonably large army to Quebec, he could have captured it. And so we may rightly say that Canada is English to-day not only because of the vigilance and wisdom of Carleton and Haldimand but also because of the statesmanship and sagacity of Washington.

The
Wyoming
massacre,
July, 1778

Haldimand's work in Canada was thorough. He made extensive preparations against the proposed invasion of which we have just spoken. He strengthened the western forts, sending troops out as far as Michilimackinac to the north and Vincennes to the west and south. It was during his first few days in Canada, that the famous attack on the peaceful valley of Wyoming occurred. This expedition was sent out from Niagara, and consisted of 500 rangers and Indians. It reached the Wyoming valley of New York the first day of July, and butchered the inhabitants and the American troops without mercy. English writers have attempted to justify this inhuman massacre, but it is not even as justifiable as the expulsion of the Acadians. It is not known on whom to lay the responsibility for this massacre. The expedition set out under some sort of orders from Carleton, but it is inconceivable that he should have designed such inhuman conduct. This butchery, however, did not justify the action of the Americans in later reenacting its scenes on the Upper Susquehanna at Unadilla, or the succeeding destruction of Cherry Valley, in the valley of the Mohawk, by another

The re-
sponsibility
unplaced



THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

English expedition under Brandt. That war is hell every one knows, but the destruction and slaughter of prisoners and the refusal to give quarter go beyond the pale of even this hell of civilization.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK AND THE WEST

Hamilton's
ambition

ONE very interesting event of this year, 1778, was Col. Henry Hamilton's expedition to Vincennes. He had been sent out from England by Germain as Lieutenant-Governor at Detroit. He was very anxious to make a reputation, so he proposed to Haldimand that he take Fort Pitt, which had been occupied by the American troops for some months. Haldimand frowned upon this proposition, as he did not consider Fort Pitt worth taking, and that scheme had to be given up. A short time afterward, however, Hamilton got his opportunity through the operations of one of America's foremost pioneers, George Rogers Clark. It is hardly within the province of Canadian history to give in detail the story of this fascinating backwoods leader. He had left Pittsburg with 300 men and finally reached Kaskaskia, now in Illinois on the Mississippi below St. Louis, which he captured without much opposition. From Kaskaskia he proceeded to Vincennes, or Fort Sackville, on the Wabash River, in what is now Indiana, and through the connivance of a priest that fort was easily taken. Thus the Americans had in a few weeks got control of Illinois, Indiana, and the Ohio country, all through the bravery and dashing leadership of one man. Hamilton at Detroit felt that the recapture of Vincennes was imperative. He was encouraged by Haldimand to undertake the expedition and started with 500

Clark
seizes three
States

THE FIGHTING IN THE WEST

men on October 7th. The expedition was unfortunate from the beginning. Storms came up and divided the boats, and the cold weather reduced the enthusiasm of the men and added to their hardships. However, they made their way through the woods and by the streams until Vincennes was reached and captured on the 17th of December. There was really no resistance, for Clark had returned to Kaskaskia and the garrison consisted of only a few men. Having so easily taken this fort, Hamilton was anxious to take Kaskaskia also, but the coming of winter and the necessity of guarding the fort and making it stronger compelled him to abandon his scheme until spring. This was unfortunate in several respects. Without fighting or a chance to fight, the men grew restless and discontented and a number of them asked and were given permission to return to Detroit. For several months Clark at Kaskaskia labored under the belief that he was still in command of Vincennes, but through some deserters in February he learned of Hamilton's arrival. Clark was not a man to allow a British flag to float in his neighborhood, so he at once began to gather a force to retake Vincennes. Mr. Kingsford in his admirable "History of Canada," says, very gingerly, that Clark's "march had its privations and was attended with that demand of strength of endurance called for at that season."

As a matter of fact, it was one of the most daring, ^{wonderful} plucky, and physically exhausting expeditions ever ^{journey} made in America.¹ As soon as he arrived in the

¹ See Theodore Roosevelt's "Winning of the West" on this march.

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

neighborhood of Vincennes, some of the Americans in the fort began to desert.

Hamilton's
humilia-
tions and
hardships

On the 23d of February, 1779, Clark called upon Hamilton to surrender. Against Clark's 170 men Hamilton had only a handful on whom he could rely, so he was compelled to agree to the capitulation and the fort was given up on the 25th. This capture was accompanied by brutal acts, several of the Indians in Hamilton's party being killed either by mistake or by treachery. The return of the captured garrison to Virginia was attended by great hardships and suffering. Part of it was made on the Ohio and part overland. The total distance traversed was 1,140 miles, and the misery of the prisoners as well as the escorts may be imagined. Hamilton was treated with conspicuous inhumanity, being handcuffed and confined in a dirty and disagreeable prison at Williamsburg, Virginia. Letters passed between Haldimand and Washington on this subject, and within a year Hamilton was exchanged.

Cruel
treatment
in Virginia

The cruel treatment which he received in Virginia was due undoubtedly to Jefferson's orders. In a proclamation issued by the provincial council at Williamsburg and approved by Jefferson as Governor, it was directed that "Prisoners of war should be put in arms, confined in the dungeon of the public jail, debarred of the use of pen and ink and paper, and excluded from all converse except with their keeper." This was certainly not Christian treatment, and undoubtedly received the reprobation of Washington. Poor Hamilton had more troubles, even after he signed the parole. He was compelled to pay four hundred dollars for a vessel from Virginia to New York in October. He remained in

THE FIGHTING IN THE WEST

that city the rest of the winter and did not reach England until the 21st of June, 1781.

Various encounters between the rival forces took place in the Ohio River country until the very end of the war. Indeed, fighting continued there long after it had ceased in the main field of contest. This is characteristic of the frontier, where always a fiercer loyalty burns than in the settled and more cosmopolitan and civilized centres. One of the most famous of these encounters followed a raid by a force of Virginians from Fort Pitt under Colonel Crawford upon Sandusky in the spring of 1782. Sandusky was defended by a force of Rangers and Indians under a Captain Caldwell. The fight was in the woods and began one afternoon, ceased with nightfall, only to be resumed at dawn, and continued until another nightfall. It was a decisive British victory except that the Virginians got away. In the pursuit five officers of the American force were captured, and the Indians burned Colonel Crawford and two captains of that force at the stake. The British reported that they were unable to restrain the savages, but this is no excuse at all. Caldwell, later, took the initiative, and for that year pretty well cleared of American troops the region which is now Ohio. An American expedition from Albany under Colonel Willett, undertaken in February of the next year against Oswego, conspicuously failed. It was started in a decidedly picturesque manner, sleighs being employed to carry the 600 troops along the Mohawk. But the party got lost, news of its coming reached Oswego, and its members were glad to return safe.

Raids
on the
frontier

Americans
burned at
the stake

CHAPTER XXXVI

VERMONT ALMOST BRITISH

Interesting
negotia-
tions

A DECIDEDLY interesting series of negotiations was going on while Haldimand was Governor, which are well worth a brief description. It involved the attempt on the part of some leading men in Vermont to annex that region again to the British Crown. United States histories contain small mention of this most interesting story, yet there is little in it discreditable to the whole people of Vermont. The feeling of the leaders mentioned to some extent permeated the whole population and was due to quite natural and logical causes. Vermont was No Man's Land. New York claimed part of it and New Hampshire claimed it all. The region now included in the State was settled under what was known as the New Hampshire grants. It was settled long after New York and New Hampshire, and its people felt themselves shut out from the rest of the country. The vast majority, as we have seen, were fiercely loyal to the Revolution and put the first stop to Burgoyne's triumphal march. Proud of that feat and of their share in his capture at Saratoga, they yearned for an organized existence instead of being the object of the claims of two other States. New Hampshire was, of course, one of the thirteen colonies and set up its statehood

No Man's
Land

VERMONT ALMOST BRITISH

existence in 1778, without much change of government. The people of Vermont, a name the region had already taken from its famous verdure-clad hills, resolved to do the same as New Hampshire. A State was accordingly formed in 1779, with Chittenden as Governor, and admission into the Union was demanded of Congress. On the merits of the case Vermont ought to have been admitted, but New York and New Hampshire objected on selfish grounds and the southern States objected to the admission of another northern State. So the petition was denied. The show of statehood was kept up, however, an assembly met regularly and a governor and State officers performed their duties. The decision of Congress naturally offended the Vermont people very deeply. Clinton at New York heard of it and notified London. Germain then wrote to Haldimand urging upon him the necessity of standing ready to receive the allegiance of the new British colony. Thereupon there began the negotiations between Haldimand and the Vermont leaders who might be favorable to a return to England.

These were not Loyalists, but were leading men in the Vermont Government, prominent among whom stood good Ethan Allen, whose "Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" rolls down the ages. Most of these negotiations were carried on under a semblance of the exchange of prisoners, but a good many men in Vermont knew what was going on. It will not be possible for me to detail these negotiations here. They were conducted with great secrecy and, so far as we know, never quite reached the point where any Vermonters had agreed to cast their lot with the King. No definite over-

Sets up
State Gov-
ernment,
1779

Ethan Allen
tired of
the war

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Chances
of union
strong

American
weaker

Preparing
a definite
proposition

tures ever came from the Vermont side. But every day throughout 1780 and most of 1781 the chances of this union were growing stronger. Snubbed by Congress and situated so far from the other American centres and so near Canada, the people began to feel cold to their former associates in the Revolution. Then there was no longer any danger to them. Quebec was quiet and no more red coats threatened to invade them from the north; thus there was no longer an irritation felt against Canada. New York, on the other hand, sent insults and threatened coercion either by itself or by Congress. Still more powerful were the disastrous fortunes of the American army. At the end of 1780 and the beginning of 1781 there began to be felt throughout the whole of the United States a profound reaction from the exhilaration produced by Burgoyne's defeat and the French alliance. That alliance had been so far a cruel disappointment and nothing better could be foreseen. This despondent feeling became especially strong in Vermont, where there was felt a distrust of Washington's generalship and of the wisdom and honesty of Congress. All these conditions made the situation very promising for the British cause.

The conspirators, if we may call them so, were in full control of the Assembly, and in July, 1781, Ira Allen, Ethan's brother, who had been on one of the commissions that met Haldimand's party at various points, wrote Haldimand of the progress made. He suggested sending certain propositions of union to Congress, propositions he knew Congress would refuse to accept. On that refusal a counter proposition and proclamation from Haldimand would be

VERMONT ALMOST BRITISH

openly submitted. At the same time as the despatch of the commission to Congress, a resolution was passed by the Assembly declaring that Vermont should not be called upon to defray any of the expenses of the war. Chittenden, the Governor, was all this time in communication with Haldimand and in August wrote him, rejoicing that peace was coming. Congress did as was expected, refused to grant statehood to Vermont except on condition that she abandon her claims to certain lands west of Lake Champlain and east of the Connecticut River. The plans were progressing now very happily for the conspirators.

But they were soon to receive an abrupt reversal. The Assembly elected that fall, in spite of the feeling of rebellion against Congress, did not have a majority in favor of the reunion to England. The news from the South had come to have an American tinge, Cornwallis was known to be hard pressed, and it would have been impossible to force through the Assembly the treaty desired. Soon after the Assembly met, October 16, came the surrender at Yorktown, and from that time onward Vermont's loyalty to the other American States was secure. Haldimand's proclamation, already drawn up and ready to be issued in Vermont, was never made public, and the negotiations failed. Yet they did not end. New York, in 1782, threatened to punish Vermont for her alleged rebellious acts and to enforce her authority there, and some of the conspirators appealed to Haldimand for help, which he could not give as the preliminaries for peace were already under way and he had been instructed to suspend all offensive operations.

Plans
working
well

Yorktown
checks the
movement

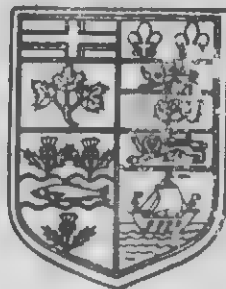
Vermont's
loyalty
secure

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Vermont's
peculiar
status

This is not a pleasant episode for Americans to read, yet it ought not to be kept so zealously out of American histories. It is of course merely speculative to assert what Vermont would have done if Cornwallis had not surrendered when he did. But it is a question what would have become of the United States if Cornwallis had not been then defeated. It was a critical time. Undoubtedly the vast majority of the people of Vermont were loyal to the United States, but there were, as we have seen, peculiar reasons for abatement of their enthusiasm. They knew nothing of the conspiracy to throw them back into British rule and can not be accused without that knowledge. Vermont, thus, can not be called a disloyal section in any sense. It had a peculiar status during the war, and the above sketch is only made for the purpose of revealing a chapter of history one could hardly have omitted in the story of Canada.¹

¹ It is rather amusing to learn to-day of such organizations as "The Vermont & Quebec Young People's Christian Union," showing that a sort of union exists between Vermont and Canada, after all.



CHAPTER XXXVII

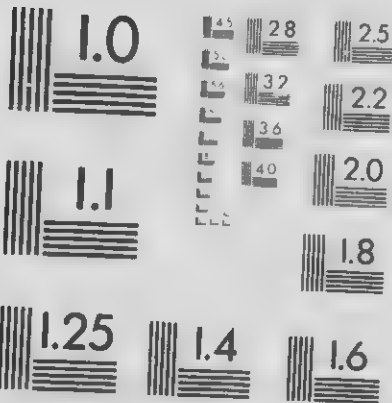
PEACE AND THE SETTLEMENT OF UPPER CANADA

THE war was now over, and the only thing ^{The war} left was to bring about a treaty of peace. ^{over} The news of Cornwallis's surrender, which arrived in England in November, 1781, convinced all England that it was impracticable to conquer the colonies. Some English and Canadian historians, writing many years after the fact, criticize severely this feeling as fundamentally wrong and illogical. They point out that the expedition of Cornwallis had no part in the main operations directed by Clinton at New York. Yet the cutting off of such a large proportion of the British army meant almost surely the concentration of all the forces of the colony against New York. Poor as the colonies were, ^{Corn-} small as was the army, and rife as were the mal- ^{wallis's} contents, it is still probable that had the British Ad- ^{defeat} ministration taken further steps to prosecute the ^{settles} war in America after the surrender of Cornwallis, ^{the war} the result would have been more enthusiasm on the part of the Americans and more defeats for the British. As it was, practically nothing happened in the thirteen States from the time of Cornwallis's surrender to the arrival of the news of the signing of the treaty of peace. The fact is, Great Britain gave up the war, not because she could not suppress



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THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The
English
people
condemn
the war

the rebellion, but because her people did not want to continue the attempt. The handwriting on the wall was plain to everybody, even to Germain, who was still in power. In January, 1781, he had declared that he would never sign a treaty of peace which gave independence to the American colonies. In January, 1782, seeing that independence was inevitable, he had the grace to resign, one of the few graceful acts that he ever did. Soon after his resignation Parliament, which had been in session only a short time, began to face the truth bravely and squarely. On the 27th of February a motion was carried "that the war on the continent of North America should no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of the country to obedience." This did not seem to be strong enough, however, so on the 4th of March the House voted that it would consider as enemies to the King and country all who should advise the prosecution of the war. It is very possible that this date, March 4th, was chosen as Inauguration Day of the President in the United States because of the above action of the House of Commons; this is the first reasonable excuse that I have ever heard for the selection of that unseasonable date. The vote was not without its other effects, for about a fortnight later, March 20th, Lord North resigned. Having got rid of North, the Prime Minister, and Germain, the Colonial Minister, England was in fair condition to settle up the war without more delay. But the new ministry of Rockingham was not wholly harmonious, and its quarrels and a number of other circumstances conspired to prevent the speedy consummation of peace. One of these other circum-

Parliament
votes to
stop the
war, March
4, 1782

SETTLEMENT OF UPPER CANADA

stances was Rodney's famous victory over the French and Spanish fleets in the West Indies on April 12th, which gave some support to the party that desired the war to continue, not necessarily against the United States, but rather against France and Spain. Both these Powers were very anxious to continue the war, and redoubled their efforts to secure some tangible victory to serve as a basis on which to claim substantial considerations in the treaty.

Meanwhile, however, negotiations were being carried on of a more or less informal character in Paris between Franklin and Richard Oswald, an envoy sent by Shelburne, the new Foreign Minister. The story of how Franklin hoodwinked Oswald, Shelburne, and the whole British nation as well as the French in this settlement of the treaty of peace, is a most interesting and amusing one. As a diplomat, Franklin clearly showed himself the cleverest man in all the world. It is impossible to point to any definite place where he squarely lied, but the man's adroitness, his evasions, his subtle flattery and absurd pretensions, challenge our warmest admiration, if not emulation, even to this day. That is a story, however, that can not be told in detail here. The part of the treaty which applies to Canada will more properly engage our attention.

One of the chief difficulties which Franklin had in securing an agreement and a treaty with Great Britain lay in the embarrassments arising from the French alliance. The United States had pretty definitely promised France that she should be consulted before the peace was concluded between the United States and Great Britain. This promise, however,

Factors
that
delayed
peace

Franklin
the
master of
diplomacy

France an
embarrass-
ing element

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Treaty of
peace
signed,
September
3, 1783

was broken, for a preliminary treaty of peace was signed on November 30, 1782, without the knowledge of France. One of the chief reasons in the minds of the American commissioners for this act was the desire to prevent Canada from in any way returning to France. Charges of bad faith were made against Franklin, of course, and can hardly be answered except on the general ground that the necessities of the United States, which were at that time especially great and pressing, were paramount to all other considerations. The final treaty was signed on September 3, 1783.

THE SHAMEFUL TREATMENT OF THE LOYALISTS

Why
they were
Loyalists

THERE are at least two sections of that treaty of peace which were of vital consequence to Canada. One of these referred to the Loyalists in the United States and the other to the boundary between the United States and Canada. Articles V and VI of the treaty were the subjects of long debate in Paris. They referred to the post-bellum condition of the Loyalists. This is a subject on which there is just as marked a division of opinion to-day as there was at that time. Without doubt, however, the passage of time has served to soften the animosity with which the Loyalists were regarded in the United States. It is not my purpose here to discuss that matter except very briefly. Undoubtedly a large proportion of the Loyalists took their stand with the King mainly on temperamental grounds. I have said in a previous chapter that in my judgment the American Revolution was due not to the causes usually ascribed to it in the histories and in the Declaration of Independence, but to the impossi-

SETTLEMENT OF UPPER CANADA

bility of a people of Anglo-Saxon ancestry being governed by another Power 3,000 miles away across the sea. Now, there are always in every community and in every country those who are temperamentally out of accord with prevailing sentiment. The great currents of popular movement do not touch them. Such were the Loyalists. They were not convinced by argument that the British Government was cruel and tyrannous to the extent which would make rebellion justifiable. Consequently, as they did not feel the overwhelming sentiment based not on argument but on fundamental emotions and racial independence, they refused to go the way of their fellows. This minority always exists in every country and in every time. We can not wholly blame such people except for their short-sightedness in reading the signs of the times. Undoubtedly the Loyalists in the United States were at the time of the sitting of the Continental Congress in 1775 in the majority, and perhaps by the time of the Declaration of Independence one-third of the people were Loyalists. But after the Declaration of Independence had been signed by men who were among the most prominent and honorable in the United States, and with George Washington in command of the American army, the great majority of the people cast their lot with the new nation. But the Loyalists would not do this; in consequence their property was confiscated, and during the Revolution they constituted in every Province or State a source of comfort to the enemy of the Americans and a decided impediment to American success. Especially was this true in the South where almost all the leading men throughout the war were Loyal-

The
Loyalists'
character

Their
property
confiscated

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

An embarrassing question after the war

ists. How to deal with this element after the war was a most difficult question. It was finally settled, however, in a very indefinite way. After numerous consultations of the peace envoys, which often threatened to break up the chances of peace, Articles V and VI of the treaty were agreed to, providing that Congress should recommend to the various Legislatures to provide for the restitution of all the estates belonging to the Loyalists which had been confiscated, if they had not borne arms against the United States, that the Loyalists should have free liberty to remain in the United States a year after the passage of the treaty, and that Congress should recommend that the confiscatorial laws which had been passed by the several States should be repealed, and that no further confiscation should be made.

Pledges of the Americans

No attempt made to redeem those pledges

Privations and persecutions

This was a hollow promise. It could not be fulfilled, and both the British and the United States commissioners knew it, or ought to have known it. Absolutely no attempt was ever made by Congress to secure the mitigation of the laws against the Loyalists in the several States, and certainly no attempt was made by the States themselves. The Loyalists suffered everywhere great privations. Some of them were permitted to remain in the United States, but it was years before they had any peace. The vast majority of them, however, left the United States and indeed were driven out. Their numbers were certainly not more than 50,000. Of these 28,000 settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the remainder chiefly in what is now the Province of Ontario, although some found their way to Quebec Province, even to the Bay of

SETTLEMENT OF UPPER CANADA

Chaleurs. The settlement of the Province of Ontario by these Loyalists was undoubtedly one of the most interesting movements in all history. It was certainly the most fortunate event for Canada. In the trek of the Loyalists from their abandoned homes in New York and Pennsylvania across Lake Ontario was borne an element destined to great eminence in the affairs of British America. This is not at all surprising, for these Loyalists were usually men of education, good breeding, and high private character. On such a foundation would naturally grow a state filled with intelligent citizens, distinguished for the same sterling qualities as their ancestors. This is undoubtedly true of the Province of Ontario of to-day. Unhappily, along with these qualities went others not so prepossessing. Like the Pilgrim Fathers, they had come to a new country that they might enjoy freedom of conscience, to worship God as they pleased, and make everybody else do the same. However, we shall not anticipate this point in the working of this new element in Canada's population. The strain is too distinct for us to fail to observe it in the development of Canadian life. Indeed, it is as distinct as the French strain in the adjoining Province, and the development simultaneously of these two Provinces constitutes a story of peculiar interest to all students of racial manifestations and free government. We shall hereafter have occasion to observe how inharmoniously this development proceeded, and we may be at times decidedly impatient at these numerous exhibitions of infelicity. But the wonder is, after all, that two such fundamentally different states existed side by side and grew into any sort of union.

A great
historic
trek

The story
of two
races

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

UPPER CANADA CREATED

The United
Empire
Loyalists

THE beginnings of this emigration into what is now Ontario were in 1783, and the progress was very slow for a long while. Indeed, at the close of 1786, three years after the war, there were only 4,487 settlers there. Haldimand, who was then Governor, treated them with the utmost generosity and kindness. Tracts of land were given to each family large enough for them to make a living on. In addition, several years later, the British Government ordered that the sons and daughters of Loyalists, the first when arriving of age and the other on their marriage, should each receive 200 acres of land. These Loyalists were designated by the name United Empire Loyalists, and that title, "U. E. L.," is still a mark of distinction in Toronto and all parts of Ontario. The reader must have wondered at the slow growth of these settlements. As stated above, three years after the treaty of peace was signed, there were less than 5,000 in that section. This shows pretty conclusively that in spite of the harsh treatment which they received in the United States, either they were not very numerous or they were not driven out precipitately, as a good many historians would have us infer. It is not necessary to dwell on the activities of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia. Many of these went there at the time of the evacuation of Boston, on March 17, 1776, and their coming was a great benefit to that region.

First
settlement
at Kingston

The first settlement of the Loyalists in what is now Ontario was at Kingston, the site of Fort Frontenac, in 1783. The first years of this settlement were most unhappy. Their very culture and

SETTLEMENT OF UPPER CANADA

education and genteel bringing up fitted the U. E. L. Unhappy early days of the settlement for no such career as tilling the soil in what seemed to be an inhospitable land. Especially was it severe upon those who came from the southern States. Sickness was rampant among them, and the cold winters and the failures of crops were most discouraging. It is such circumstances, however, which really mold men and women, and undoubtedly in the end these Loyalists were more happy and useful in their own country than they would have been if they had remained in the United States in more comfortable homes, but surrounded by neighbors who looked upon them askance, if not with open enmity. Out of their trials came strength and character and lofty virtues.

THE BOUNDARY QUESTION

THE other portion of the treaty of peace which especially concerned Canada related to the boundary. Settling the boundary lines It is very interesting to notice the maps of that time. One of the boundary lines suggested by Oswald, the British Commissioner, would have crossed the St. Lawrence about where the line of New York State now ends, running slightly northwest to Lake Nipissing, and then directly west to the Mississippi River. That would have given all of what is now the Province of Ontario to the United States, but would have left Lake Superior and the upper peninsula of Michigan under the British flag. However, as we all know, the boundary finally decided upon was practically the boundary as it is to-day. That is, beginning with the mouth of the river St. Croix, and forming the boundary line of the State of Maine as it is to-day, then directly west to

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The vexing
eastern
boundary

the St. Lawrence, and from that point following the St. Lawrence, Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, not forgetting to include in the United States that large island, Isle Royal, in Lake Superior, which an exact survey would have given to Great Britain. As to the eastern boundary, there will always be a vexed question. The treaty of peace, as we have said, fixed the boundary about as it is to-day, but there was certainly a provision in that treaty which the United States in some way elided. The line "drawn north from the source of the St. Croix River to the Highlands, along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean," was clearly a line which would have left the river Aroostook, and a large part of what is now northern Maine, in British territory. How the United States got that territory will be better shown when we come to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

Trouble
over the
western
posts

The carrying into effect of the provisions of the treaty by Canada and the United States was not effected with utmost harmony. Carleton, who had succeeded Clinton in command at New York, did not sail from that city until several months after his absence would have been appreciated by Congress, and when he did he took with him as many Loyalists as he could carry. When Washington called upon Haldimand for the transfer of the posts now in American territory and held by the British, Haldimand was not very ready to give them up. In fact, he plainly stated the next year that he would not give them up until the provisions of the treaty regarding Loyalists were fulfilled. An-

SETTLEMENT OF UPPER CANADA

other reason he gave was that he had no direct orders to transfer them. Consequently the entire change was not effected until 1796, thirteen years after the war. The Indians in the West were very much excited when they learned that this country had been turned over to the Americans. In the first place they declared that this land was their own; it was not for the British to give, especially was it not for the British to give it to the enemies of the Indians. Haldimand wrote to them, reassuringly, urging them to be peaceful, and offering them land in Upper Canada and other sections. In all, about 700,000 acres were set aside, and part of it was occupied by them. Most of them, however, remained in the West, and of these many became embroiled in the wars which succeeded the attempt of the Americans from Virginia, New York, and Pennsylvania to settle that great region.

From the beginning of English rule in Canada, as we have noticed it, there was a restlessness on the part of the Roman Catholic population because of their fear that in some way they were to be deprived of the full privilege of their religion. There was never any substantial basis for this theory. The record of Great Britain in this respect is, perhaps, under the circumstances, the most remarkable example of religious tolerance in the history of the world. This does not mean, however, that the British authorities did not exercise reasonable precaution. An example of this cautious action was shown soon after the conclusion of the peace treaty in 1784. The Montreal Seminary, under the control of the Sulpitians, wished to secure their priests from the seminary of St.

Indians
dissatisfied

Friction
with the
Sulpitians

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Two
Sulpitian
priests sent
back to
Paris

Sulpice in Paris. This leave the British Government refused to grant. So many of the Sulpitians had caused trouble by their alleged intrigues, that the Government, while willing, of course, to have French priests, preferred that they should come from some other seminary. In spite of this prohibition, at least two priests did come from St. Sulpice, dressing in secular garb in order to prevent their being detected. This caused considerable feeling, and after several deputations had waited upon Haldimand, the two priests were sent back. Petitions in their favor were afterward made to the Imperial authorities, but for some years without success.

HALDIMAND RECALLED

Ultra-
English
element
hard to
please

IN the summer of 1784 Haldimand received notice from England, granting him permission to return, yet approving his administration heartily. This was in reality a veiled recall, and was so interpreted by most of his contemporaries in England and Canada. He did not leave Canada until November 15th. Presumably his recall was asked because of dissatisfaction with his course regarding the English settlers. As we have seen and shall continue to see, this ultra-English element in Canada was narrow in the extreme, and from the very start arrogated to itself the control and rule of Canada, a pretension which no governor-general was willing to recognize. These critics railed against Murray, against Carleton, and against Haldimand, yet Haldimand, in spite of his rigorous measures, which were probably justified in the majority of cases, was one of the most useful rulers that Canada ever had. It

SETTLEMENT OF UPPER CANADA

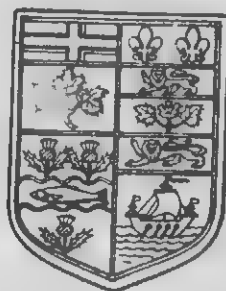
was under his administration that the citadel of ^{Haldimand's} Quebec was designed and started. He built the first ^{record of} small canals to overcome the rapids of the St. Lawrence. He laid out the Public Gardens in Quebec, and the fine grounds at Montmorency Falls, including residence and garden, were due to him. He also made the Chateau St. Louis a gubernatorial residence. On the whole, I am unable to find a basis for the charges of cruelty and bias which many writers have formulated against him. He undoubtedly took with him to England the respect, if not the affection, of a large percentage of the people. During his absence the Government was ^{Colonel Hamilton again} under the guidance of Colonel Henry Hamilton, with whose career as the governor of Detroit and defeated commandant at Vincennes and prisoner in Virginia we are familiar. His administration was unsuccessful. He magnified his office, and became involved in some difficulties in regard to the militia act. This led him to quarrel with the military commander, Colonel Hope. Hamilton seemed to have acted in a hasty way, consequently, after serving only a few months, his resignation was demanded, and Hope was appointed Lieutenant-Governor.

A short time after Haldimand's return to England, Bishop Briand retired. He was no longer able to perform his duties, although he had a coadjutor, D'Esghis. The latter, however, was seventy-five years of age, and the Bishop recommended the appointment of a successor to the coadjutor before the latter died or retired—a sort of coadjutor to the coadjutor. Father Hubert was appointed to ^{A new Bishop of Quebec} this post, July 1, 1785. The new diocesan was forty-six years old and was a native of Quebec.

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Father
Hubert's
consecra-
tion

For the preceding twelve years he had been first secretary to the Bishop, but was at the time of his appointment missionary to the Hurons near Detroit. His consecration took place on November 19, 1786. The coadjutor died about the same time, and so from the start Hubert was in control of the diocese.



CHAPTER XXXVIII

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

HALDIMAND, of course, knew that he would not be again sent to America, and it was soon made known to him and to Lieutenant-Governor Hope that Carleton should succeed to the governorship. Carleton had been given the ungrateful task of commanding the army in the United States after Clinton, disgusted with the Cornwallis fiasco and surrender, had resigned. He had been in England only a short time before he was asked if he wished to return to Canada. For various reasons the appointment was agreeable to him. Because of his services in Canada and in the United States he had been raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester. He was the first Governor-General of Canada, and was given jurisdiction over Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the latter Province having been separated from the former only two years before. Colonel Thomas Carleton became the first Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick and Hope remained at Quebec, Parr continuing as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. Hope's memory is preserved in Quebec in the Hope Gate, a name which was given to the gate leading to St. Roch in 1784, and which it holds to-day. Carleton, or Lord Dorchester, as we shall from now on call him, landed

Carleton
returns to
Canada as
Governor

Is now
Lord
Dorchester

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Chief
Justice
Smith

at Quebec on October 23, 1786. With him came William Smith, who had been appointed Chief Justice of the Province at Carleton's request. He had known Smith while the latter was a justice in New York, and formed a high opinion of his character. Smith was born in New York, and was Chief Justice of that Province from 1763. He was a Loyalist who seems not to have encountered great enmity from the Americans, but he had deemed it wise not to remain under American rule, and had accompanied Carleton when the latter returned to England in 1783.

Court
procedure
investi-
gated

The coming of Justice Smith led to more investigations and disputes regarding the status of civil law in the Province. The Chief Justice made an inquiry relative to the procedure in the courts. An enormous amount of testimony was taken, but no progress was really made and nothing was determined. A conflict arose between the Chief Justice and Monks, the Attorney-General, the result of which was that Monks was dismissed from his position and Graves appointed in his stead. There were very few occurrences of any consequence in the early part of Dorchester's Administration that were calculated to disturb the even tenor of affairs. There was, of course, the usual dissatisfaction and complaint of both French and English at the administration of the law, and against the administrators, but on the whole these were years of quiet, steady growth both on the upper and the lower St. Lawrence.

In September, 1787, Dr. Charles Inglis was appointed the first bishop of the English Church in British America. He was in title bishop of Nova

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

Scotia with Halifax as his see city, but his jurisdiction extended to Quebec, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. He made but one visit to Quebec, because within a few years a bishop was appointed for that Province alone. Bishop Inglis was born in Ireland, and was a teacher in Pennsylvania before being ordained. At the time of the breaking out of the Revolution he was assistant minister at Trinity Church, New York. Requested by Washington to omit the prayer for the King and the royal family, Inglis refused, and on the issuance of the Declaration of Independence, Trinity Church was closed. He attracted considerable attention by his able answer to Thomas Paine's pamphlet, "Commonsense," an argument for the Revolution. After the evacuation of New York by the British, 1783, he proceeded to Halifax, and remained as rector until appointed bishop.

First
bishop
of the
English
Church
in Canada

As was usual in a new country, the chief things which engrossed the attention of the people were the courts, the army, and the church. Especially was this true of the latter. Up to this time there had been very little friction between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, but the internal dissensions of the latter continued. Among the sources of dissatisfaction at this time was the new coadjutor to Bishop Hubert, Bailly de Messine. Bailly was a priest of fine attainments and culture. He had been vicar-general of Nova Scotia, and afterward was a professor in the seminary of Quebec. During the siege of Quebec in 1775-76 he did some fighting on the English side, being wounded severely and taken prisoner. His conduct on this occasion and his marked intelligence and learning attracted

Bailly de
Messine
made
coadjutor
bishop, 1787

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Bailly
treated
discour-
teously
by his
superiors

Sir Guy Carleton, and he was tutor to Carleton's children four years in England. He returned to Canada in 1782, and resumed his duties as a priest. About four years later, or in 1787, Bailly was elected coadjutor-bishop, largely through the influence of Dorchester. With this choice the venerable Bishop Briand and Bishop Hubert were not pleased, and they treated Bailly with discourtesy, amounting almost to contempt. He had been curé at Pointe-aux-Trembles, and his ecclesiastical superiors compelled him to remain there. This uncomfortable condition was sure to provoke a rupture. It came after Bishop Hubert had published a proclamation censuring priests for leaving their parishes too often. This was directed, Monsigneur Bailly believed, at himself, because of his frequent visits in Quebec, and he answered the proclamation in a public letter in the Quebec "Gazette." The feeling stirred up by this was not allayed for years. Undoubtedly the basis of the opposition to Bailly lay in his friendship to Dorchester.

Warfare in
the Ohio
country

We have already learned of the discontent of the Indians south and west of Lake Erie because their interests and the interests of all the Indians of the west were ignored in the peace treaty. The ugly feeling which prevailed in that region was due to the fear that the United States would take from them the land which they occupied. This was an entirely justifiable fear. About 1786 a raid was made into the Shawnee country by some Kentuckians, who burned villages and destroyed crops and committed many other acts of violence. Matters came to a head in 1788 when the territory was given a government with St. Clair as Governor. This

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

was done evidently to preserve peace, but the very fact of the organization of this territory led to an enormous emigration from New England and other parts of the United States. An attempt on St. Clair's part to prevent these settlers from taking a warlike attitude failed, nor was he able to induce the Indians to meet for purposes of adjusting the difficulties. The result was a number of engagements between the Indians and bodies of American troops in the years 1790 and 1791, in which both sides suffered about equally. Undoubtedly both the Canadian and the American Government were trying to preserve peace, but they could not control their own people. This was the beginning of the Indian warfare in Ohio, which continued for many years.

PARLIAMENT SEPARATES THE CANADAS

Up to this time Canada had been ruled under the Quebec Act, with such modification as the wisdom of the Governor-General permitted. As we have seen, there had been constant agitation from a very small minority of British residents for a popular legislative assembly. Undoubtedly this demand, which had grown very little up to the time of the American Revolution, was increased very largely by the outcome of the Revolution; in the first place, by the large liberties which the American States enjoyed, and, in the second place, by the great influx of Loyalists and the settlement of what is now Ontario. This latter fact was responsible also for the decision reached about 1788 for a division of Canada into two parts. It was quite typical of British administration at that time that this decision

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Dorchester
not
consulted

An absurd
scheme

should have been reached almost wholly without consultation with the Governor-General or in plain opposition to his advice. The first leader in the movement for a division was a Quebec merchant, Mr. Lymburner, who was sent to London to represent a committee of Canadians. In spite of the fact that Sydney, the Colonial Minister, had informed Dorchester the previous year that there would be no change in the Quebec Act, the Ministry began framing the new act almost at once. The act which was to settle the matter finally was introduced into Parliament in 1790, and the March following Dorchester was notified of its introduction and asked to go to London and assist in its formation. He had no idea that it was the intention to put the bill through at once, so he did not hurry, sailing from Quebec on August 18th, but the bill had become a law long before he left Canada. Mr. Lymburner was the chief expert consulted by Parliament during the consideration of this act. Lymburner was opposed to any measures which would give the French-speaking people a dominant voice in any legislative assembly. He was the spokesman of the English minority. He wished a representative house of assembly, but wished the matter so arranged that the English, although greatly in the minority of population, should always have a majority in the assembly. This absurd and unjust scheme was fundamentally opposed to all theories of democratic government upon which the British Empire was supposed to be founded, and Parliament would not listen to it. It is impossible to learn who was really responsible for the Canada Act. No one in Canada with official position or influence

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

seemed to favor it. Certainly the sentiment in The
Quebec was almost unanimously hostile to it. It ^{Loyalists}
is probable that the governing impulse for the ^{probably}
change came from the Loyalists of Upper Canada ^{re-sponsible}
—i. e., what is now Ontario—and the power they
were able to exert through relatives in England.
The debate upon the bill was one of the most pas-
sionate and interesting known in parliamentary his-
tory. This is largely due to the fact that scarcely
any of the debaters talked about the bill at all. The
real subject was the French Revolution, which was
then getting up steam and almost under way. It was ^{Burke}
during this debate that the famous rupture in the ^{and Fox}
friendship of Burke and Fox took place, Fox siding ^{quarrel}
with the revolutionists and Burke vehemently op-
posing them. It is generally believed the quarrel
would have taken place anyhow because Burke felt
he could no longer travel the same political path as
Fox. The circumstances, however, were so dra-
matic, and even melodramatic, that the incident can
never be forgotten.

A POPULAR ASSEMBLY AT LAST

THIS act, commonly called the Constitutional Act
of 1791, divided Canada into two Provinces, called
Lower and Upper Canada.¹ The executive power
of each Province was in the hands of the Governor,
assisted by a Council. Legislative power was placed

¹ These designations refer to the St. Lawrence River.
"Lower" means toward the mouth of the river, i. e., Que-
bec, and "Upper" means toward the source, or what we now
call Ontario. Those readers who are in the habit of think-
ing of all rivers as running from north to south are liable to
be confused by these terms.

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Executive
Council,
Legislative
Council and
Assembly

The
"clergy
reserves"
first appear

in the care of a Legislative Council and an Assembly. The members of the Legislative Council, like the Governor and his Council, were appointed by the Sovereign, but unlike them, these appointments were for life, and it was even suggested at one time that they be made hereditary. The present Canadian Senate is the legitimate successor of this legislative council. The Assembly, however, was an elective body, and was to consist in Upper Canada of not less than 16 and in Lower Canada of not less than 50 members. Only those were allowed to vote in the rural districts who owned land to the value of forty shillings a year net, and in the cities a qualification was fixed at five pounds in the case of freeholders and ten pounds in the case of leaseholders. The term of the Assembly was four years. The sessions were to be at least one each year, but the Governor had a right to call or prorogue them at his pleasure. The Governor also possessed the veto power. This act also made provision for an allotment of land in each Province for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy. This allotment was about one-seventh of all land "granted or to be granted." As it would be impossible that all this land could be used for this purpose, and there was a dispute as to what constituted the Protestant clergy, this measure, under the name of "the clergy reserves," became a political football for many years. Another peculiar condition of the act was that the British Parliament reserved to itself the right of fixing duties: in other words, controlling the trade between the two Provinces, or between each Province and all other countries. This bill of 1791 was in many ways a step in advance and toward democ-

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

racy, but it is also an evidence of the folly of doing the right thing at the wrong time. Of that we shall hear later.

SIMCOE THE BUSY

DORCHESTER being absent in England when the new ^{Dorchester} Constitution went into effect, the Lieutenant-Gov-^{absent} ernors of the two Provinces were intrusted with the duties of inaugurating the new system. The Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada, that is, Quebec, was Sir Alured Clarke, who had acted in a similar capacity before. He opened the Parliament in November, 1792, two months after the one in Upper Canada. The new Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada was John Graves Simcoe, whose actions were the subject of much controversy throughout his administration. Simcoe had seen service during the Revolutionary War, and was ambitious to distinguish himself in some way. He was only forty years old at this time, and thought in Canada he could attain eminence. He was lieutenant-colonel in the army, but had applied for the rank in Canada of major-general. From the very first, like ^{Simcoe} most petty officials, he seems to have tremendously ^{takes} ^{himself} magnified his office, being one of that large class ^{very} ^{seriously} of people who take themselves and their duties very seriously. He had about a hundred suggestions to make in regard to the proper way his new territory was to be administered, and before he had left England fairly rained down upon the officials in London his recommendations. After arriving in Canada he was in a great stew for a long while because, not having an army to command, he had no military rank. Eventually he was appointed the colonel of

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

the Queen's Rangers, and when the Queen's Rangers arrived the next year he was allowed to put on his uniform, and was happy for a time. The first Chief Justice of the new Province was Osgoode, who afterward became Chief Justice of Quebec. Simcoe's misfortunes were not at an end when he got his military title, for, because of the absence of a majority of his council, he could not be sworn in and take possession of his office. So it was not until June, 1792, that he was able to leave Quebec for Upper Canada. He arrived at Kingston in July, and took the oath of office on the 8th, so we may say that the birth of Ontario was July 8, 1792, and the first Parliament was called to assemble at Niagara, or Newark as it was then called, on September 17th of that year. This was notable as the first popular legislative assembly ever held in Canada. John Macdonnell of Glengary was the first Speaker of the House. This Assembly was composed, of course, almost wholly of Loyalists, at any rate of English-speaking persons, and they probably were very happy in this assembly, and felt great pity for their English brethren in the Province of Lower Canada. The first assembly did very little except lay down the ordinary rules for the conduct of public business. The Province was divided into four districts, trial by jury was established, and the French laws of old Canada were repealed. This was to be a Simon-pure English Province, and it has continued so pretty constantly even to this day. The next April the first newspaper appeared, the Upper Canada "Gazette," or the "American Oracle," which was the official paper of the Government.

First
Parliament
meets,
September
17, 1792, at
Newark

The first
newspaper

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

Simcoe was very energetic from the start. If his energy had been matched with common-sense, his administration would have been a great success. He made a journey to Detroit in order to settle upon a place for the seat of Government. This he judged should be built on the river La Trenche, which he renamed the Thames. The location is where the city of London, Ontario, now stands. At first Simcoe was allowed to have his fling pretty freely, because there was no one over him, Dorchester being in England while the Lieutenant-Governor at Quebec, naturally, did not attempt to interfere with the affairs of Upper Canada. This was unfortunate both for Simcoe and Dorchester, as we shall see later.

GENET'S AGENTS IN CANADA

In the mean time the Revolution in France had reached the boiling point. Mobs had been parading the streets of Paris, the King and Queen had been brought practically prisoners from Versailles to Paris, the Tuileries had been attacked, and the road to the hell of the Reign of Terror was being carefully paved by each day's events. On February 1, 1793, the convention declared war against Great Britain and Holland, and those simple-minded democrats in England who had been sympathizing with democratic aspirations in France began to open their eyes. Naturally the Revolution was very popular in the United States. The people of France seemed to be fighting a battle to throw off their oppressors similar to that through which the Americans had just emerged. With delightful lack of logic the American people did not stop to con-

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Americans
make
French
envoy a
hero

sider that the help they had received in their struggle for independence did not come from the French people, least of all the common people, but from the King and the Court of France, whose assassination and downfall they were applauding. But the American people were aroused to great enthusiasm in the cause of the Revolution, and when Genet, the Minister appointed by republican France to America landed in the United States, he was received like a conquering hero. If it had not been that one George Washington, to whom Josh Billings paid the colloquial but apt tribute, "He never slopped over," was at that time President, the United States might have made the most fearful blunder in all its history by being dragged into an indefensible war with Great Britain.

The
habitants
become
restless
and dis-
contented

The story of Genet's career in the United States, of his intrigues with Jefferson, his rebuffs by Washington, his deceit and final overthrow is not a part of this record. Its only connection with Canadian history is Genet's dissemination of French agitators into Lower Canada, who, coming with the prestige of the French Government and the favor of the United States, caused a vast amount of restlessness and discontent where for a little while peace had prevailed. This disturbance came just at the wrong time for a fair test of the new Constitution. This was the time the French population of Canada ought to have been calm and deliberative, so that they might show their appreciation of and take advantage of the self-government with which they had been intrusted, but just the reverse was the case. They were distracted in their attention from the problems at hand to the old dream of again be-

CANADA

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PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING REGINA SASKATCHEWAN
From the Saskatoon Hotel

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED coming a French province. At the same time there was great dissatisfaction in America against Great Britain because of various circumstances connected with the treaty of peace. The western posts were still held by the British for two reasons; first, that the provisions of the peace treaty regarding the Loyalists had not been fulfilled; second, that the debts to English creditors by Americans had not been paid. There was the trouble with the Indians over their boundaries. This dissatisfaction between England and America helped in the general feeling of irritation stirred up by Genet's emissaries in Quebec. Every day seemed to make Canada's outlook more serious.

THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF LOWER CANADA

MEANWHILE the first Parliament of Lower Canada had met on December 17, 1792. The first Speaker of the House was J. A. Panet of Quebec, while Chief Justice Smith had been designated by the King as Speaker of the Legislative Council. There were only sixteen English members of the first House, which consisted of fifty members. This first Parliament must have been a very interesting one, as it was the first time that Frenchmen and Englishmen had met on terms of equality to devise laws for a people. Naturally the first question to decide was in what language business was to be conducted. It was finally ordered that a motion could be made either in French or in English, and the clerk should translate it. The journal of the House was kept in both French and English. It was noticeable throughout this first Parliament that the English rights and privileges were by far more jealously

French and
English
legislate
together

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The
Parliament
sits for five
months

safeguarded than they are to-day in the same Province, for to-day the French element holds sway without question. This first Parliament could do very little actual legislation. It sat, however, for five months, and must have concerned itself with a great deal of debate; but with those details historians have not supplied us voluminously. It is too bad that the Jesuits could not have been induced to write the history of that assembly, for with their painstaking ways and careful attention to details they would have given us a very interesting and valuable picture of the time. About the only tax that was then imposed was on wines and spirits, simply to meet the expenses of legislation.

DORCHESTER'S BAD BLUNDER

Dorchester
arrives
in Quebec

THE troubled condition of the whole colony made the welcome of Lord Dorchester, when he arrived in Quebec on the 23d of September, 1793, very enthusiastic. The city was illuminated and the whole population thronged the streets. Seven weeks later he opened the second Parliament, November 11. An interesting feature of this Parliament was the financial statement which Dorchester submitted to it. This showed a deficiency in the revenues of about \$90,000, which deficiency was made up by the British Government. A short time after the assembly of Parliament Dorchester issued a proclamation, requiring officials, civil and military, to exercise diligence to detect the presence of seditious literature or persons and to deal with them promptly when detected. This showed that Dorchester was fully aware of the machinations of Genet and was determined to circumvent them.

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

Very little happened, however, to cause any feeling of apprehension that winter, but when spring came on, the general feeling was so restless that Dorchester thought it best to order a roll of the militia, that it should be ready for service. This call revealed the extent of French Canadian disaffection. A small portion of this element of the population, either in the cities or the country, responded to the call. It was necessary to explain to them that this militia service did not mean service for life or any long period, but because their feelings had been worked upon by the agents of Genet and because of their deep-rooted dislike for anything English, they continued apathetic, to say the least. Only 2,000 militiamen were called for in all, but even this small number Dorchester found difficulty in assembling. Some of the habitants declared that they wished to remain neutral, being unwilling to take up arms for either side. The absurdity and the grim humor of this attitude did not occur to them.

Roll of
militia
ordered

Habitants
wish to
remain
neutral

It can well be imagined that, throughout the entire winter after his arrival, Dorchester was in a very unpleasant and somewhat irritable state of mind. He was especially angered at the evidence of sympathy which the enemies of England found in the United States. This, however, was a thing that he might have expected, and it is surprising that this feeling should have led him into his first conspicuous indiscretion. In February, 1794, a deputation of the Miamis waited upon him to ask his aid and counsel regarding their future home. He made a speech to them which none of his friends could afford to condone. It was calculated to stir up trouble. Even if he did not expect it to be quoted or reach

Dor-
chester's
unfortunate
speech to
the Miamis

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

the ears of the people of the United States or England, it was, nevertheless, likely to do mischief to all who heard it. He told them in effect that he was unable to do anything for them because "from the manner in which the people of the States push on and act and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct toward the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year." He furthermore said that the Canadian authorities had acted in a most peaceful manner, but that their patience was almost exhausted.

Called to
account
by the
United
States

Now the inevitable result of such talk as this would naturally be to excite the Indians to greater anger toward the United States and that feeling would undoubtedly be accompanied by hostile acts and depredations. The folly of a Governor-General of a country in predicting war with its next door neighbor is too patent to need pointing out. Of course, this speech soon found its way to the United States, was published in the papers and reached the eye of the Secretary of State, Randolph. He at once forwarded it to the British Minister to the United States, Hammond, with a protest, and Hammond was compelled to transmit it to England. It was impossible that the British Colonial Secretary, Dundas, should fail to give Dorchester an official reprimand for his conduct, no matter how high was his regard for Dorchester. He wrote very sharply to Dorchester and took him to task both for his speech to the Indians and for his action in permitting the reestablishment of a fort on American soil near the Miamis. Dundas was undoubtedly justified in this censure not only because of the fact of Dor-

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

chester's speech but because of the state of public sentiment in England at the time. Jay was then in England preparing to make the treaty for which his name is famous, and an exceedingly happy feeling prevailed in London over the outcome of the negotiations which Dorchester's speech was calculated to disturb. What made it most damaging of all was his recent return from England, indicating perhaps, that he spoke with authority.

In his reply to Dundas, Dorchester did not act with his usual good judgment. He defended himself on the ground that he had regarded it as necessary at that time to make an emphatic declaration of his opinion, but he did not show how such a declaration could assist him or his Government in preventing hostilities. This was his weak point. Had he replied that his speech was an indiscretion, made on the spur of the moment and without sufficient consideration, we could excuse him, but under the circumstances the judgment of posterity is the same as that of the British Minister. Dorchester seemed to recognize that a crisis in his affairs had come, and he concluded his letter by asking to resign and to return home. His resignation was not acted upon at once, but the subsequent letters that passed between him and the Ministers showed that their confidence in him was impaired.

Occurrences were taking place constantly which indicated that Dorchester's opinion of the probability of war was well founded. There was a riot at Montreal in which the mob browbeat a magistrate into promising to pardon a Frenchman who had been arrested for fraud. Under ordinary circumstances such a mob could not have been collected,

Dorchester's
petulant
reply

The people
more
irritable

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

but it seems that any punishment of a Frenchman, no matter how well deserved, was likely to cause resentment in the French. The authorities were doing all they could to maintain order, but without any organized conspiracy to face, it was very difficult to act effectively. The third Legislature passed an alien act to prevent the coming into the country of other than British subjects. In May, 1795, Dorchester called out the militia. The result was further exhibitions of bad feeling. Rumors were in constant circulation of the approach of the French army, and also that the French fleet was in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, ready to advance to the capture of Quebec. These rumors were in circulation not only for weeks but for months and even years, and so prejudiced and ignorant were the habitants that they actually believed them, even after their expectations had been dashed many times.

Rumors of
French
invasion

SIMCOE'S TIFFS WITH DORCHESTER

Prescott
to succeed
Dorchester

DORCHESTER persisted in his determination to resign, and in September, 1795, the Duke of Portland wrote to him expressing his great regret at the decision and informing him that General Prescott was to be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada. This indicated that ultimately Prescott would succeed Dorchester. In the mean time, while Dorchester's temper was not improved by conditions which he saw all around him and the letters he was receiving from London, he was still more harassed by his intercourse with Simcoe at Toronto.² As we

² By this name was the town known at first. In 1794 it became York, and so remained until 1834, when it resumed its first name, Toronto.

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

have seen, Simcoe imagined that he was supreme in his own Province. This was the time of the war scare with the United States, and Simcoe wanted to keep all his troops; he asked to fortify Toronto, to found a new capital where the city of London now is, and to carry on a host of other public works, which, in the weak condition of the colony, would have been most impracticable to undertake. Dorchester replied very pleasantly to these requests, but negatived all his propositions. Not only were there no troops in Quebec to carry out Simcoe's plans, but it would be necessary for him to send to Quebec most of the troops that he had. Dorchester showed very plainly that in the event of war Lower Canada would suffer first, Upper Canada being too remote for attack. Simcoe did not rest easily under Dorchester's decision. He appealed to Dundas, and he made himself very disagreeable. Dundas, in his reply, did not sustain Dorchester as strongly as he should have done. In fact, he rather assented to Simcoe's ideas. This emboldened Simcoe to assert in his letters to Dorchester that Dundas had authorized him to proceed with his plans, and thus was the conflict of authority continued and the bad feeling increased. About this time Simcoe learned of General Wayne's campaign against the Indians which seemed to threaten his own Province. This was the famous campaign in which General Anthony Wayne of the United States Army cleaned up the Maumee country in Ohio. With about 3,500 men he defeated the Indians in a battle which they forced upon him near Fort Recovery after a conflict lasting two days. Later he moved upon the Indian villages at the junction of the Glaize and the Mau-

Simcoe
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Dundas
rather sides
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Simcoe

"Mad
Anthony"
Wayne
defeats
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THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Wayne
and
Campbell

mee. It was a complete rout, the villages and the crops were destroyed and an American fort was built there. Another battle occurred a little later in which Wayne was again victorious. It was while he was in that region that Wayne had his very interesting correspondence with Major Campbell, the commandant of the British fort nearby. This correspondence is exceedingly rich in the language of crimination and recrimination. Major Campbell started the trouble by asking under what authority an American army was invading his territory. This rather took Wayne's breath away considering the fact that this British fort was actually on American soil, and he fired literary hot shot in reply. The correspondence continued for some time, but nothing really ever came of it. Wayne's victory settled the Indian warfare in that region, and was as conclusive and effective as any one could wish.

Simcoe
resigns,
1796

Simcoe continued to have friction with Dorchester and at length determined to resign. In that contest there is no doubt that Dorchester was not only technically but absolutely right, and, while Simcoe did many things for the Province and was energetic and aggressive and industrious, it is questionable whether his administration was on the whole beneficial. He finally resigned in 1796 and returned to England that fall. He saw service later and held high offices in San Domingo, India, and Plymouth, but died when he really ought to have been most efficient, at the age of fifty-four. The same year that he resigned his position in Upper Canada, Lieutenant-General Robert Prescott arrived at Quebec to become Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada and Commander-in-Chief in North America.

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

THE DEPARTURE OF DORCHESTER

He reached Quebec in the summer of 1796 and a few days later, on the 9th of July, Dochester left for England. His departure was regretted through the whole Province, and the addresses that were presented to him from various bodies and sections showed an appreciation of his great services to the country. He retained his office as Governor-General until April 27, 1797, when Prescott succeeded him in name as well as in fact. There can be no doubt of the high rank of Dorchester among the rulers of Canada. His connection with it extended over a period of almost forty years. He was with Wolfe at the conquest, and from that time on almost continuously he had intimate relations with the country's affairs. It is regrettable that his last administration should have been less successful than the first, but it is well to remember that at that time he was an old man, and the indiscretion of his speech to the Miamis in 1793 was largely due to the pressure of years and of the many embarrassments with which he was surrounded. That address was really the only conspicuous blunder in all his career, and should not mar in the slightest degree the value of his services, both to Canada and the United States, for in his other acts he always strove to maintain peaceful relations and to advance the prosperity of both peoples.

Two events of Dorchester's time could hardly be inserted in the story without breaking the continuity. These were the visit of the Duke of Kent and the creation of the Anglican Diocese of Quebec. The Duke of Kent was then Prince Edward and was

Long and
conspicu-
ous service
for Canada

The Duke
of Kent in
Quebec

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Prince
Edward
almost
captured
by the
French

afterward the father of Queen Victoria. He arrived in Canada in August, 1791, in command of the Seventh Fusiliers. He was very popular in Quebec society and the house in which he lived near the Falls of Montmorency is still pointed out to visitors. The Duke took a prominent part in the organization of a society of musical amateurs and in various ways became very popular with the inhabitants. In January, 1794, he received orders to join Sir Charles Gray, ancestor to the present Viceroy, in the West Indies, and left Canada by way of Lake Champlain and Boston. He sailed from Boston on the 6th of February on a small packet, which was very nearly captured by the French cruisers. If the French officers had known that an English prince was on board that little packet, they might have captured it or possibly blown it up, in which case we are left to speculate as to who would be sitting on the throne of England at the present moment. Prince Edward safely reached Martinique and took part in the capture of Port Bourdon and St. Lucia. He was then ordered to Halifax, and arrived there on the 10th of May, 1794. For nearly five years, or until 1798, he remained in command of the forces there and then returned to England. He was as popular in Halifax as he had been in Quebec, and contributed very much to the enjoyment of life there.

Five years
at Halifax

First
Anglican
bishop of
Quebec

Dr. Mountain was created the first Church of England bishop of Quebec in 1793. He was another of those Huguenots whom Catholic France drove from her borders only to strengthen her greatest enemy. Dr. Mountain became acquainted with the bishop of Lincoln, who had been Pitt's

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THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Neither
church
building
nor rectory
in Quebec

private secretary, and it was through him that Mountain was appointed bishop. The Church of England was very weak at that time in Canada. There were only six clergymen in Lower Canada and three in Upper Canada. In Quebec there was neither church building nor rectory, and the first Anglican services in Quebec were held in the Récollet Church and afterward in the Jesuit chapel.

Death of
Chief
Justice
Smith

Another change that occurred in Dorchester's time was the death of Chief Justice Smith, who was succeeded by Osgoode, who had been Chief Justice in Upper Canada.

PRESCOTT'S BRIEF RÉGIME

Adet
French
Minister

GENERAL PRESCOTT, who succeeded Dorchester, had fought in the Revolutionary War and before coming to Canada had been Governor of Martinique. His time in Canada was a brief one, but was filled with interesting events. Genet had been succeeded by Fauchet and in turn by Adet as French Minister to the United States. The latter was almost as mischievous in his interference in Canadian affairs as Genet. French spies continued to circulate throughout Lower Canada and kept the population stirred up. All of the Governors of that time imagined that the United States Government was aiding in this mischievous work, but this was not true. Vermont indeed was unofficially helping it along. Only a few years before, the reader will remember, Vermont contained some very eminent citizens, among them Mr. Ira Allen, who had been active in wishing to return to the British rule because Congress would not admit Vermont as a State. Now that Congress, in 1791, had admitted Vermont as a

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

State, some of its citizens, with the zeal of new converts, were very perniciously anti-English. In January, 1797, a French ship, conspicuously misnamed, "The Olive Branch," bound from Ostend, with 20,000 stand of arms, artillery and ammunition on board, was captured by the British. This cargo was bound for Vermont and as supercargo it contained our old friend, Mr. Ira Allen. He explained that he bought these arms for the militia of Vermont, but it was the general opinion, both in America and in England, that they were intended for Vermonters who wished to fight for France in Canada. At any rate, it was a very disquieting circumstance and aggravated the irritation between England and America.

Among the dupes or maniacs of this *Adet régime* was one David McLane. He was an American citizen who became one of Adet's emissaries and circulated throughout Lower Canada endeavoring to enlist the natives in the French cause. At Quebec he attempted to put through a foolish plan for the capture of the citadel by drugging the garrison. He was arrested on May 10, 1797, and pretty rapidly hustled off to execution, which took place on July 21, under harsh circumstances. The fact that he was an American citizen complicated matters considerably and led to more recriminations between Canada and the United States. McLane was really insane, and the asylum was the place for him rather than the gallows. There were other schemes on foot for the capture of Canada by the French, but they all came to naught. Had there been any real co-operation on the part of American citizens with the French, this capture might have been easily effected,

Rites
bound for
Vermont
on a French
ship

An
American
hanged in
Quebec

Canada in
extreme
peril

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

End of
Reign
of Terror

but the Americans had no desire to see Canada French. They expected to take it in a few years themselves! During all this time, of course, hell was raging in France, which was at war with England and half of Europe. But with the end of the Reign of Terror and later the coming of Napoleon, these interferences of French agents in Canada practically ceased, and the colony settled itself down to what seemed likely to be a period of peace.

MILNES AS ADMINISTRATOR

Prescott's
quarrel
with the
council

THE important event of Prescott's administration was his quarrel with the council on the subject of land grants. This was a controversy running back several years and related to some Crown land which had been thrown open to the public and for which many applications had been made which for some reason had not been acted upon. The amount was not large, and the whole was rather a petty subject, but Prescott and his council violently disagreed about it, and the upshot of the affair was that in 1799 Prescott was recalled. He was allowed to retain the title of Governor-General and the £2,000 a year of income until 1805. Robert Shore Milnes succeeded him at Quebec in 1799 although holding only the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Milnes, like his predecessor, had been Governor of Martinique. He was a valuable man and a good administrator. During his régime at Quebec affairs were very quiet, owing, as we have said, to the passing of the French Revolution. Nelson's victory of the Nile,² in 1798, evoked so much enthusiasm that

² Nelson's visit to Quebec in 1782 was remembered by many residents. Its chief feature was the future hero's infatuation

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

a public subscription to assist the Government of England in prosecuting the war brought in almost \$35,000. About the same time a movement was inaugurated for building a cathedral at Quebec for the Anglican Church. The cathedral was completed for consecration in 1804, and its centennial was observed in 1904.³ The building was erected by the War Department and in its general rigidity and awkwardness its exterior looks more like a barracks or jail than a church. It cost \$80,000. Along with the building of this cathedral went forward a project to "establish" the Anglican Church in Canada. This "establishment" would mean, of course, that a certain percentage of the public funds should be diverted to its support, but the project failed at that time because of the opposition of the Roman Catholic authorities.

Anglican
cathedral
built, 1804

Another ecclesiastical subject at this same time was the disposition of the Jesuit estates. The Jesuits had through various circumstances fallen into disrepute with their ecclesiastical superiors, and, in 1764, they were expelled from France and Spain, and nine years later, 1773, Pope Clement XIV suppressed the order altogether, and it so remained until revived by the Pope in 1814. The lands belonging to the Jesuits in Canada comprised a million acres, and the income from them was naturally

The Jesuit
estates

with a Miss Simpson, which was so intense that his brother officers had to almost forcibly bear him away on H.M.S. "Albemarle."

³ Among those present on the latter occasion was the Archbishop of Canterbury, who crossed the Atlantic, the first Anglican Archbishop ever to do so, for the purpose of attending the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States in Boston.

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large. As these lands were granted to the Jesuits on account of their religious work, and as they were not being used for that purpose, various projects to gain control of them for the Government were proposed, but nothing was done until 1800, when Father Cazot, the last of the American Jesuits, died. It was finally decided that they should become the property of the Crown, and the Governor recommended that the annual income should be devoted to educational purposes.

Changes
in the
bishops

Monsignor Bailly, coadjutor-bishop to Bishop Hubert, died in 1794, and Monsignor Donaut was named in his stead. Bishop Hubert resigned in 1797, and Bishop Donaut became full Bishop. Monsignor Plessis was then appointed coadjutor. Plessis was one of the most aggressive and able of all the Roman Catholic clergy of Canada, and he was the first to be officially recognized by the English Government as Bishop. This ceremony was performed on January 27, 1806, he taking the oath on that day, his coadjutor, Panet, taking the oath on the following 8th of February.

VITAL STATISTICS OF LOWER CANADA IN 1800

Milnes's
exhaustive
report

We are indebted to Milnes for an exhaustive report to the King on conditions in Canada for the year 1800, the beginning of the century. He estimates the population of Lower Canada at 160,000 and the militia at about 38,000. The annual cost of the military establishment was about \$1,000,000, and there was a deficiency in the revenue of \$60,000, which, of course, the Imperial Government had to make up. It will thus be seen that the population of Lower Canada had grown in the forty years

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

since the conquest from about 60,000 to 160,000. Rapid gain in population
This does not take into account either Upper Canada or the Maritime Provinces. Upper Canada, we know, had about 50,000 people at that time, while the Maritime Provinces, that is, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, contained in the neighborhood of 60,000. The increase in Lower Canada from 60,000 to 160,000 in forty years, while it does not seem to us to be very great, was on the whole a very satisfactory showing. All of this increase was by the natural birth rate, for aside from the few English who came in at the close of the Revolutionary War, there had been almost no immigration into the Province whatever. Of the 160,000, 130,000 were French Canadians. From 1608, the date of the founding of Quebec, to 1759, one hundred and fifty years, the population of Lower Canada had amounted to only 70,000, a very small rate. This shows how much more beneficent English rule was to the habitants than French rule. They had gained ground very slowly even after the fear of the Iroquois menace had been removed. This is a proof that poverty and uncomfortable surroundings are not necessarily conducive to large populations. A continued growth of the French Canadians in the last century is another proof of that fact. The Government of Canada at the opening of the nineteenth century could be very well satisfied with the material prosperity which it had achieved and with the general feeling of content and security which pervaded all classes. In spite of its failings and the many obstacles which opposed it, the English administration had been a decided success. English rule better than the French We need to look at these things at this time not only be-

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

cause it is a proper time to take stock but because in a few years we shall see how Canada was menaced from without and from within by movements which were calculated to destroy the unity and the prosperity of the country.

Milnes
returns to
England,
1805

In August, 1805, Milnes returned to England because of bad health, and he turned over the government to Mr. Thomas Dunn. There is very little to say about Milnes. He had no authority over both Provinces, as he was Lower Canada's Lieutenant-Governor. He seems to have conducted the few matters that were before him with discretion and tact, but, possibly because he met with no great problems, he is not remembered with any particular vividness. Thomas Dunn, who, by virtue of his position as Senior Executive Councilor, assumed office on Milnes's departure, came into Canada early, being there at the time of Montgomery's attack. He was a man of common sense and intelligence and administered affairs well. About this time, or in November, 1806, the first copy of the newspaper "Le Canadien" appeared. It was printed entirely in French and assumed to speak for the entire French Canadian population. It was started by subscription and from the beginning had a wide circulation and exercised great influence. It was no doubt a virulent and aggressive sheet. Assuming to be looking out solely for the interests of the French Canadians, it always took an attitude of complaint against and attack on the English administration. Whatever was British it opposed. Whenever it saw a British head, it hit it. It will thus be seen how mischievous such a journal could be in such a population.

"Le
Canadien"
appears,
1806

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

Taking up the story of Upper Canada after Simcoe's resignation in 1796, we find very few events of much consequence. Peter Russell was the administrator until the arrival of General Hunter in 1799. Russell was a wealthy man as the times were, and he conducted affairs with an eye to increasing his wealth. The Province continued to grow and to attract more Englishmen. The population in 1806 was estimated at 70,718, showing a very satisfactory increase since 1800. General Hunter, who came to the Province as Lieutenant-Governor, in 1799, was also in military command of the troops of both Provinces. On that account he was very often in Quebec, and his career in Upper Canada is not important. He died in 1805, and the next year Sir Francis Gore took possession of the government. Parliament met at that time in York, a primitive village, hardly suitable for the gathering of such an important body.

CRAIG AT QUEBEC

THE relations between Great Britain and the United States were beginning to be strained, and the bucolic history which we have been recording for the past ten or a dozen years will soon give way to the story of war. The encounter between the "Chesapeake" and the "Leopard" occurred in 1807 just before the arrival of the successor of Milnes in Lower Canada, and it increased the restless feeling between the two countries. The administrator, Dunn, ordered the militia to be held in readiness, and the Roman Catholic Bishop issued a *mandement* which was full of loyalty and patriotic injunctions to the habitants. In the fall of the year, Sir James Craig,

Quiet days
in Upper
Canada,
1796-1805

Strained
relations
with the
United
States

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Craig's
military
equipment

the new Lieutenant-Governor, arrived. Craig was appointed largely because it was felt that in case of war between Canada and the United States his military training would fit him for the command. He had been in the Revolutionary War, was wounded at Bunker Hill, and was with Burgoyne's army that surrendered at Saratoga. His military training, however, did not come into play during the war because war was delayed, and these very military qualities proved an obstacle to his successful administration of the Province.

Hart
expelled
because he
is a Jew

Discord between himself and the Legislative Assembly began during his first year. There was much opposition in the Assembly to the presence of judges as members of the Legislative Council. We may well sympathize with that feeling, and undoubtedly it is a proper sentiment, but very likely at the time it was brought forth because the judges were all Englishmen, being appointed by the Crown and allowed to hold office in the Assembly by virtue of their position as judges. The Assembly passed a resolution condemning the practise of the judges taking part in political affairs, and the Legislative Council defeated the measure. Another source of discord was the presence in the Assembly of a Mr. Hart, a Representative of high character from Three Rivers, whose only fault was that he was a Jew. For that reason alone the Assembly expelled him from membership. In spite of this fact, as in the case of Bradlaugh in England, his constituents returned him and again he was expelled and again he was returned. After his third election the House attempted to compass his disqualification by passing a bill prohibiting Jews from

DORCHESTER GOVERNOR AND CANADA DIVIDED

being candidates for election. This action merely angered the Governor, and he ordered a dissolution of Parliament, at the same time censuring the Assembly and praising the minority. In spite of the plain justice of the case on the side of Mr. Hart and of the Legislative Council, in which the English, of course, were dominant, the French Canadians returned their Representatives to the Assembly by large majorities. The Assembly, when it met, passed a resolution, by innuendo censuring the Governor. From this time on during the governorship of Craig the lines were sharply drawn between the two races, the English on the side of the Governor and the French against him. This was a situation than which there could be nothing more serious in the Province. It was a thing which the legislators and Ministers in London had especially aimed to prevent, for they well knew the only way the Province could grow was by a complete fusion of the two elements into one body. Craig, however, was a man whose nature and military training made it impossible for him to use tact. He was vacillating also, and that led the Opposition to consider him weak. He made the absurd error of suppressing the press and office of "Le Canadien," as well as arresting a large number of the sympathizers with the Assembly. The Governor had grown tired of this situation, and he appealed to the home Government to change the Canadian Constitution so that he could hold the Assembly in check, but the Government refused to accede to this request. In the mean time, affairs between the Governor and the Assembly were somewhat patched up. Craig allowed a bill disqualifying judges from seats in the House

Race strife
begins

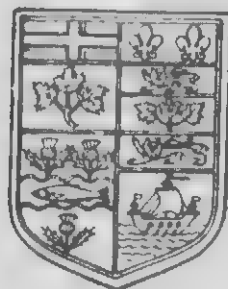
"Le
Canadien"
suppressed

Judges
disqualified

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Craig
resigns, 1811

to go through the Council and signed it and the Assembly passed most of the bills which he had recommended. With the affairs in this somewhat harmonious condition, Craig thought it a good time to resign and he did so. In June, 1811, he left Mr. Dunn again in control and went back to England.



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CHAPTER XXXIX

THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

UNFORTUNATE and reactionary as was the appointment of Craig, that of his successor was little better. Sir George Prevost ^{Prevost Governor-General} became Governor-General of the whole colony and arrived in Quebec in September, 1811. He was a younger man than Craig, was born in New York, and had seen some service, not in the Revolution, but in the West Indies. We shall see in the succeeding chapter how he failed to take hold of the opportunity which came to him in "the War of 1812."

REAL CAUSES

It is not necessary for us here to give in detail the causes of that war. Like the Revolutionary, its ^{Causes temperamental} causes were more temperamental than they were statutory. Undoubtedly American commerce had been injured by the proclamations and counter-proclamations of non-intercourse made by French and English. The mistake of the United States in issuing a proclamation on the same lines, called the embargo, refusing on its side to trade with other nations, was a suicidal policy and inflicted great damage upon the United States, particularly upon New England, whose vessels lay rotting at the wharfs. France was really the originator of this

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Anti-
English
sentiment

The right
of search

United
States
long
yearned
for war

policy of non-intercourse, but England was chiefly blamed in the United States. The reason for this was the general anti-English attitude, which had not grown much less bitter since the Revolutionary war and the fact that naturally most of the trade of the United States was with the English. The other cause of irritation was the impressment of American seamen by British ships. The British authorities claimed the right to search any vessel anywhere either in an English port or on the high seas, in order to find British sailors who were serving under another flag that they might escape service in their own country. The British navy was suffering heavily from desertions, and this drastic step was taken to recruit the force. No such right could be entertained by civilized nations, either at that time or to-day, and even if such a right had been supported by usage at that time, the harsh and arbitrary methods used by the British officers in this task were a source of great irritation to Americans. These officers would refuse to recognize an American certificate of nationality unless it was issued by the Admiralty courts. The inexcusable firing by the British ship "Leopard" upon the United States frigate "Chesapeake" added fuel to the flames. Now in all this disturbance and quarrel there was, as any one to-day can see, no real justification for a war, but the United States had been yearning for war with Great Britain ever since the Revolution. The temper of the people was distinctly anti-British, and the tactlessness of the British authorities in dealing with the American ships and with American commerce provoked the Americans until they were fighting mad and mad for a fight. If at that time

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THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

the United States had been under an administration notably pacific and anxious to avoid the war, there would have been no war, but unfortunately Madison was President, and although he was a much more moderate man than most of his Republican colleagues he was considered in a sense a jingo. An attempt was made by diplomatic negotiation to fend off the encounter, but the negotiations failed of success, and they only served still further to complicate and irritate the situation. The detailed steps in these negotiations, which had been carried on in reality during the entire three years of Madison's first term, need not be given here. They belong rather to the history of the relations of the United States and England, and with them Canada has no concern. The fiasco of Erskine's mission to the United States, which was blamable as much to the British Government as to the envoy himself, and the failure of Jackson to come to agreement with Madison and Gallatin—these are stories attended with much interest, but for the above reason will not be given here. The only part that Canada had in the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain concerned the activity of the Indian tribes of the old Ohio territory. It had been alleged in the United States, and the allegation was repeated in Madison's war message of June 1, 1812, that Canadian officials had incited the Indians to revolt. This is, we are pretty sure, a groundless allegation. In fact, the year before the Canadian Government had warned the United States in a friendly way of the existence of this hostile spirit among the Indians. Now, to allege on the basis of this warning that it was the Canadians who

Madison
not a peace
man

Indians not
incited to
revolt

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were stirring up the Indians, is equivalent to a government's ordering the arrest on the charge of counterfeiting of a man who sends word that there is a good deal of counterfeit money in circulation in his neighborhood.

Great
Britain
in the
doldrums

Napoleon's
gigantic
figure

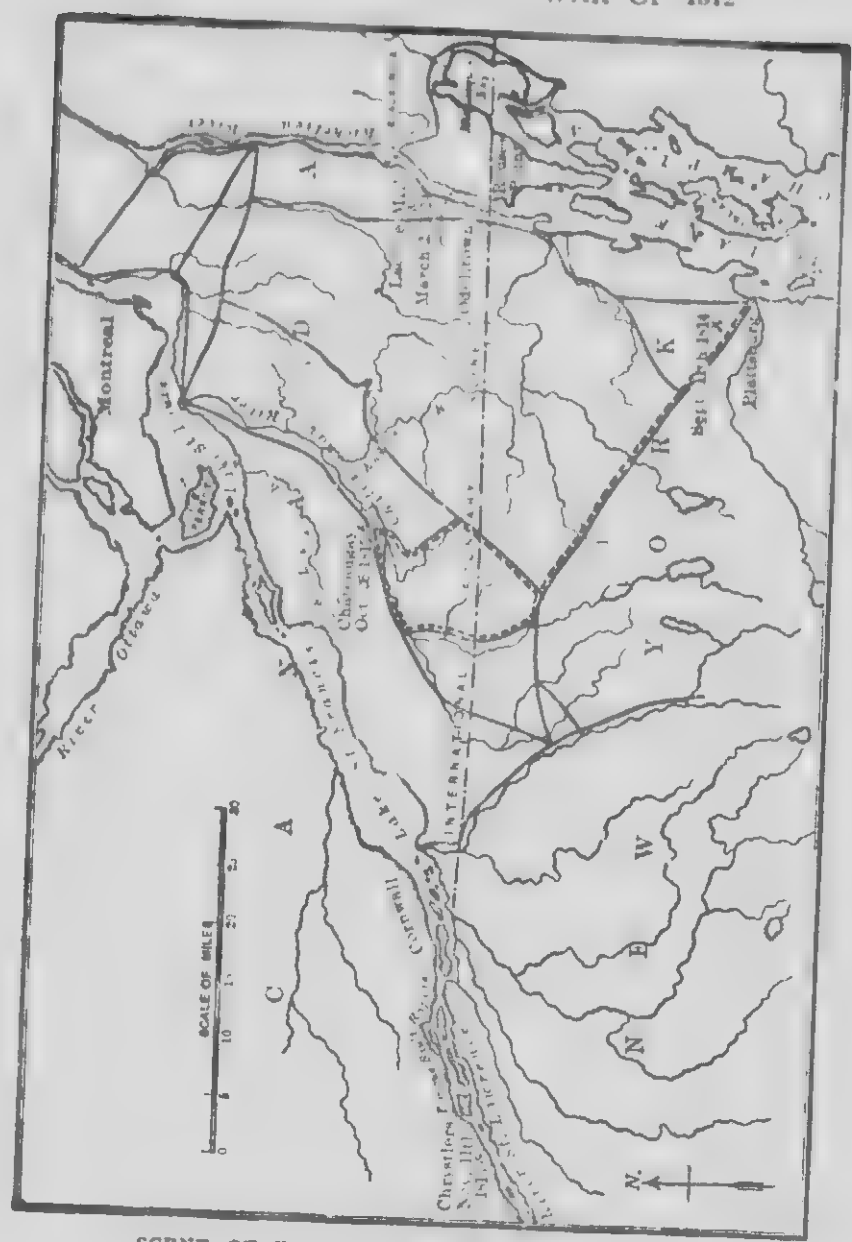
The real reason for President Madison's action in calling upon Congress to declare war against England is not far to seek. In the first place, he believed that the grievances of his country were many and were righteous. Those grievances we have stated. Another reason, however, was that he, or rather the leaders of his party, believed that the time to strike England had come. In spite of the great victories of Nelson on the Nile and at Trafalgar and the general advance in British commerce, Great Britain had come into one of those periods of depression to which, in spite of its high position in all fields of the world's activities, it is subject. This condition was by no means inexplicable. Indeed, it was easily understood. It arose primarily from the brilliant success of Napoleon and from the absence of trained leaders at home. The Government was in the hands of Percival, one of those political intriguers who too often in all countries happen to be in charge of affairs when they are most delicate and the nation's peril is the greatest. Percival was not able even to formulate a definite policy, and his associates were not of a calibre to help him. The glory and prestige of Napoleon were, moreover, at that moment the darkest shadows to fall across England's path. This was just the time when Napoleon, backed by the power of every country on the Continent except Russia, was marching toward Moscow to lay that capital captive. On his way

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THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812



SCENE OF WAR OF 1812 IN LOWER CANADA
697

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from France he was met here and there by kings and emperors and princes of formerly proud states, anxious to do him homage and assist in his triumphal march. The whole world knew that his next step would be the invasion of England. This was the time when Madison deemed it best to declare war against Great Britain. We know also that he was practically forced into this position by Clay and other Republican leaders. They had threatened him with a loss of a second term if he did not yield. With all these circumstances acting in concert, it is not difficult to understand why he sent in his war message of June 1st, to be followed by appropriate action of Congress, and his issuance of the proclamation of war on June 19th.

United
States
proclaims
war, June
19, 1812

UNCLE SAM OVERCONFIDENT

THERE was no doubt in the minds of the leaders in Congress of the success of the United States arms, especially as related to Canada. As early as February, 1810, Henry Clay announced that "I verily believe that the militia of Kentucky are alone competent to place Montreal and Upper Canada at your feet." Thomas Jefferson, never an infallible prophet, in a letter dated August, 1812, said: "The acquisition of Canada this year as far as the neighborhood of Quebec would be a mere matter of marching and will give us experience for the attack on Halifax the next year and the final expulsion of England from the American continent." This confidence arose from two sources, first the general weakness of the Canadians in military affairs and the belief in the United States that the French element was disloyal and would assist the American

Henry
Clay's
boast

THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

cause—the same foolish belief that was entertained in 1775 and in the Fenian raids of the sixties. It is rather amusing at this time to recall the controversy between Simcoe and Dorchester—Dorchester was sure that the main point of attack in case of war with the United States would be Quebec and Montreal. Simcoe did not exactly contest this proposition, but wished to have soldiers in Upper Canada not only to protect the Province from invasion, but also to assist in the necessary construction work. Now, however, we find that when war did come, its theatre was not Lower Canada, but Upper Canada, the English Province. This does not mean that Dorchester was wrong, but rather that times had changed.

This Province of Upper Canada had experienced none of the racial difficulties of Lower Canada, but it contrived to have troubles of its own. Lieutenant-Governor Gore came to the Province in 1806 and was soon involved in difficulties with some of the judges and lawyers. These quarrels are too petty to be worth our attention. They only show how impossible it is for brethren to dwell together in unity even when the questions of religion and race are not raised. Gore left York in the fall of 1811, and the government was taken over by Sir Isaac Brock, a man whose services to Canada will never be forgotten.

Sir Isaac
Brock in
power in
Upper
Canada

Canada was wholly unprepared for war. England had her hands full with Napoleon and the prospects of an invasion, and left the colony to shift for itself. There was no money in the country, few fortifications, and practically no army. Certainly there were not over 4,000 regular troops. The total popula-

Canada
unprepared
for war

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Issue of
bonds

tion of the country did not exceed 425,000. Indeed, this is a liberal estimate, and I can not see upon what the authorities base it. Obviously there were two things to do. One was to get an army and the other was to get money. The Parliaments of Upper and Lower Canada acted with alacrity and decision. The circulation was enlarged until in February, 1815, by the issuance of bonds, over \$5,000,000 of added currency was in circulation. But there was very little specie, and if it had not been for the general faith of the people in the stability of the Government this issue of currency would have been a complete failure. So far as providing an army was concerned, the steps taken were as prompt and vigorous.

HULL AT DETROIT

General
William
Hull an in-
competent

BROCK was especially well fitted for war in comparison with the other commanders. He seemed to have an idea that war was coming, while Prevost at Quebec lived in a fool's paradise until the last moment. Brock was not left long in doubt as to the direction from which the first attack upon him would be made. While he knew full well that the militia in New York State had been for months drilling and otherwise preparing for war, he had learned enough of the movements of the western American forces to feel no surprise when he learned that General Hull was at Detroit in June, prepared to invade Canada. This campaign of Hull's, which was unmistakably opera-bouffe in character, is the most interesting incident in the early part of the war. General William Hull was an old man who was not very anxious to undertake the campaign,

THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

but he had had some experience in the Revolutionary War, and since 1805 had been Governor of Michigan Territory. He accepted a commission as brigadier-general in April of that year only after considerable insistence by President Madison. He was really no general, and his experience in the Revolution of thirty-five years before was hardly a proper basis for entrusting him with such an important assignment. He was sixty years of age, and was older than that in resolution and ability. Although he was Governor of Michigan, he was at Washington when he was prevailed upon to accept a commission, and he set out for Detroit with orders to pick up his army on the way.

President
Madison
insists

In May he arrived at Dayton, Ohio, and took command of some troops, and when he reached Detroit he had about 2,000 men. On his way to Detroit he committed the superlative blunder of starting his baggage and other stores, including his muster-rolls and instructions, by a schooner to Detroit. The British very easily and calmly captured this vessel, which gave Brock his first intimation of Hull's program. Hull reached Detroit early in July, and on the 12th began the invasion of Canada, issuing at the same time a proclamation to the people, which is in the turgid and beautiful style of such proclamations. He told the people of Upper Canada, who were almost all descendants of the United Empire Loyalists, that they should be "emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freedom." In other respects it was full of bad taste, a conspicuous feature of it being a threat of vengeance if the Indians should be found fighting for the British. Brock instantly

Hull's baggage taken

His turgid
proclamation

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Brock
appeals
to the
Assembly

replied with a proclamation, which was as calm and sensible as Hull's had been feverish and foolish. The Upper Canadian Parliament assembled at York on July 27th, and Brock appealed to it for support and munitions of war. Strange to say, even at that time when invasion threatened, there was a discordant element in the House of Assembly. Some of the members were imbued with the old factionalism, and through their influence the Assembly refused to vote the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. There was no hesitancy, however, in passing the necessary revenue bills, and in a short time the session was adjourned. Meantime Hull had entered the Province, and was attempting its conquest. He had scarcely begun, however, when he received news of the capture by the British of the American post of Michilimackinac. This post was completely surprised by a force, including the British garrison on the island of St. Joseph, the north of Lake Huron, under Captain Roberts. The capture was important, not only because of the value of the stores taken, but also because of its influence upon the Indians, many of whom forthwith allied themselves with the British.

Both sides

Hull's
advance
opposed
and
defeated

To oppose the onward march of Hull, Brock had stationed Colonel Proctor at Amherstburg, which was about ten miles south of Detroit, on the Canadian side. Here, with 600 men, he awaited the approach of Hull, who was at Sandwich, just opposite Detroit. In order to reach Amherstburg, it was necessary for Hull to cross a little river called the river Aux Canards. His attempt to cross was resisted by the Canadians. Several engagements occurred, the Indians rendering great service. While

THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

Hull was preparing for a more aggressive attack on Amherstburg, a force guarding a convoy of provisions from the Ohio was attacked by a party of Indians under Tecumseh, the Shawnee chief, at Brownstown, about opposite Amherstburg on the American side. Not only this convoy force, but also a party which Hull had sent forward to meet it, were ambuscaded by Tecumseh and slaughtered. The British then established the post at Brownstown, shutting off Hull's communication with the Ohio country. All these circumstances caused Hull to lose his nerve, and, hearing that Proctor's force was to be reenforced, he determined, on August 8th, to retreat to Detroit. Thinking himself secure in Detroit, Hull tried to open communication with Ohio by despatching a force of 700 men under Colonel Miller. An engagement occurred between this force and the British under Major Muir, in which the British were defeated, but fought so resolutely that the American advance was prevented. Soon after this, Proctor's little army at Amherstburg was reenforced by about 300 men, who had traveled the whole 200 miles along the coast of Lake Erie from Niagara. They were accompanied by Brock, who at this time met Tecumseh, and confirmed his cooperation. Brock began aggressive movements at once. He advanced on the 15th of August to Sandwich, and sent a message to Hull demanding the immediate surrender of Detroit. Hull, of course, sent back a message of defiance. Brock then opened fire on Detroit from his battery at Sandwich, but apparently made no impression on the fort. The next day he crossed the river with about 700 men and 600 Indians. Strangely enough, this landing was

Tecumseh
aids the
British

Brock takes
command

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Hull frightened into a surrender, Sept. 16, 1812

unopposed. While they were on their way to make an attack on the city, they saw a boat with a white flag on it crossing the river to Sandwich. It seems that a shot from the battery that morning had entered the fort and killed four officers. This shot seems to have thrown Hull into a condition of desperate funk (as in the case of Vergor at Fort Beauséjour in 1755) and he forthwith started out his men to propose terms of capitulation. This proposition was made by Hull without consultation with his other officers, and against their violent protest when they learned what he had done. Brock was very glad to receive the surrender, and made excellent terms. It was the easiest conquest known in all warfare, and a lasting disgrace to American arms. This surrender included not only the city of Detroit, but the entire territory of Michigan, 2,500 troops, 33 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition.

Hull
sentenced
to death,
but
Madison
intervenes

There was absolutely no excuse for Hull's action. It was pure cowardice. After his exchange he was placed on trial on January 5, 1814, and was found guilty and sentenced to death. President Madison, who had prevailed upon him to accept his commission, was not unfaithful, and remitted his sentence, but ordered his name erased from the army list. He afterward went to Massachusetts to live, and now his place of residence boasts of it, neglecting, however, to recall the story of his disgrace.

The effect of this surrender on the course of the war was immediate. Nothing succeeds like success, and the Indians of all that region at once joined the British. It gave courage to the Canadians, and caused the Americans utmost consternation. They

THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

could hardly believe that the report of the surrender was true, and they emptied their vials of wrath on poor Hull, who, to be sure, deserved most of their abuse. Detroit was immediately occupied by the British and defended. Hull and his troops were conveyed to Quebec, where they were received with great kindness and shown many attentions.

After the capture of Detroit, Brock returned to York. He then learned of the armistice that had been proposed by the British Government. The basis of this proposal of an armistice was the decision of the new British Cabinet under Lord Liverpool to suspend the orders-in-council. These orders-in-council were among the most offensive of the Percival Government's measures, and were largely responsible for the war. There is nothing in the despatches, so far as I can find, to show that Lord Liverpool actually instructed Prevost to ask the American Government for an armistice, but it is hardly conceivable that he would have made such a proposition on the receipt of the news of the revocation without some sort of suggestion, at least, that the armistice be asked for. That any government against which war had been declared should back down to the extent of repealing a measure which had been one of the causes of the war, and then should ask for the other nation to let up, seems odd and very unlike an Englishman's government. At any rate, Prevost did ask for the armistice, and it was granted by the American officers in the field, and in the mean time the despatches were forwarded to Washington in order that President Madison might take some action upon them. Of course, he regarded this series of acts on the part of the Brit-

Canada's
cause
helped
immensely

The
armistice

The folly
of it

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

ish as signs of great weakness, and refused to stop the war. The armistice, brief as it was, gave the American commander more time to get together his forces.

American
plan of
campaign

The American plan of campaign was a very simple one. It comprised an attack upon Canada at three points—Detroit, the Niagara frontier, and by way of the old Lake Champlain-St. Lawrence route. Major-General Dearborn, commanding general of the entire United States army, was in the field, and took the active command of the Lake Champlain expedition. General van Rensselaer was the leader of the expedition against the Niagara frontier, and, after Hull's surrender of Detroit, General William Henry Harrison took charge of the American forces in that region. This period of armistice was a very irksome one to Brock, for he was an aggressive leader, and had no patience with the timid policy of Prevost. Unfortunately the latter was in supreme command. He even directed Brock to order the evacuation of Detroit, but fortunately for the Canadians he gave Brock some liberty in the matter, and the order was not carried out. Brave Prevost evidently thought that there would be no war, and he studiously refrained from taking any offensive movement. It was a sad blunder, for it only encouraged the Americans and disheartened the Canadians.

Prevost
and Brock

THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON AND THE DEATH OF BROCK

THE issue, however, could no longer be denied. If the Canadians would not invade the United States, the Americans were not afraid to invade Canada,

THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

and the first encounter occurred on the Niagara frontier. That little border was pretty well crowded with troops glaring at each other across the river. Brock, who was in active command of all the British operations on that frontier, was very anxious to know where the American attack would be made. But upon that point there was great lack of unanimity on the part of the Americans themselves. Dearborn was having troubles of his own in the Lake Champlain campaign. So he let the commanders on the Niagara settle the question themselves, and those commanders were pulling in opposite directions. By the 1st of September there were about 8,000 American troops gathered along the river. Some were at Niagara, at the mouth of the river, others at Lewiston, and others at Buffalo. Van Rensselaer, who was nominally in command, proposed to attack Queenston. Smyth at Buffalo thought the attack ought to be made nearer his base, and accordingly refused to cooperate with Van Rensselaer. For this glaring defiance of authority and insubordination, Smyth was not court-martialed or censured in any way. On the other hand, he was given command of the army when Van Rensselaer retired a few months later. The attack, however, went on as Van Rensselaer had planned. He received very little help aside from the force he had at Lewiston and what he could get from Niagara. He had about 4,000 men, however, of which about 1,500 were regulars, the rest being New York militia. The battle was a singular one, and because of certain circumstances well worth a detailed description.

It was on the night of October 13, during a light

Both sides
anxious

Forces on
the Niagara
frontier

A singular
battle

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Americans
cross the
river, Oct 23

rainstorm, that the American advance began. There was considerable confusion in getting off the boats, and the current took a good many of them downstream, so that only a few of the advance party reached the shore, where the attack was to be made. This force, however, small as it was, pressed pluckily forward, but was soon met with formidable opposition, and lost several men. Meantime the boats kept coming across, and gradually the Americans on shore were numerous enough to make an advance in force practicable. Queenston itself was on a height, and the way to reach it was by a road which had been carefully guarded, but there was a narrow path up the cliff which spies had revealed to the Americans. Up this path they poured under Captain Wool, later to be distinguished in the Mexican War.

Fighting
over a
gun

Brock
killed

Brock, in the mean time, had been informed of the attack, and hastened to the spot. A gun, which he had in action, was attacked so vigorously by the Americans that Brock and his staff were compelled to retreat on foot, the gun was taken by Wool and turned against the British. Another British force came up then, and these troops were ordered to retake the gun. Wool had at that time only about 150 men, while the British opposing force was about the same size. It was after he had regained the gun that Brock, Lieutenant-Governor and military commander of the Province, was killed. A few minutes later Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell, Attorney-General of the Province, came up with reinforcements, and he too was killed and the Americans retook the gun. Thus in a half-hour the two foremost civil officers of

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THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

the Province were slain. In spite of this loss, however, the British fought with such energy and courage that the Americans were driven from the gun and compelled to retreat. The contest at this point was a drawn battle, but afterward the advantage was all on the British side. Van Rensselaer had come over and, seeing the position, had returned to the American side, to bring over the rest of the force, at the same time ordering Smyth of Buffalo to bring up his force with all possible speed. Some brave warriors of the Empire State of New York at this point completely flunked. They refused pointblank to cross the river, giving as their excuse that they had sworn to defend the State, not to engage in an invasion. This whining attitude on the part of men calling themselves soldiers should not be forgotten by this generation, which is accustomed to believe that only in our days is there shirking of responsibility and cowardice. No such action would be possible to-day in any American or Canadian militia company.

American
militia lose
courage

While these American raw recruits were "playing the baby" on one side of the river, the Canadians on the other side were hastening to the defense of their land. Sheaffe, who had succeeded Brock in command, hurried forward from Fort George to Queenston with 800 men. The result was not difficult to divine. The American force was a very small one. It had been under fire for some hours, and could not hope to cope with the superior Canadian force unless it was reenforced, but, as we have seen, all reenforcement was impossible. The Americans, now under Scott, for Wool had been wounded, could not stand the furious fire and bayonet charge

Canadians
reenforced
and drive
back the
enemy

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

A picture
rescue
contest

of the Canadians. They broke and fled. Many fell off the Heights and were killed. Some were drowned. The remainder surrendered, altogether about 960. Among them was a major-general of the militia, Wadsworth, with about 50 other officers. The regulars were sent as prisoners to Montreal, the militia were allowed to return home on parole. The American loss was about 300 killed and wounded, and the British about 200.

It was a very pretty fight which took place on Queenston Heights, and a rather remarkable one. The fortunes of war shifted rapidly from side to side, and had not the New York militia proved cowardly the contest would have been one of the most vigorous of the entire war. As it was, the battle was full of dramatic features—the darkness in which it was fought, the death of the British commanding general and his aide-de-camp, the sharp exchange of shots between two forces only a few yards apart, and the precipitous charge by the British, which drove the Americans on the heights to death or into the river below—these made a very interesting picture for the first real battle of the war.

Americans
surprised
and
shocked

Van Rensselaer had not been very enthusiastic in taking up this command, and he resigned it immediately after the battle. General Smyth, the hero of Buffalo, who refused to come to the aid of his brethren when they were being shot down, was, as I have said before, placed in command. Again were the hopes of the politicians at Washington and of the people in general dashed to the ground by the news of this battle. There had been very little enthusiasm for the war in the United States, but after the contest was on most of the Amer-

THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

Americans loyally gave it their sympathy. As usual, very little credit was given to the enemy for their victory, but the defeat was laid to the incompetency of the leaders. The death of Sir Isaac Brock, however, made the contest in all essentials a British defeat, for Brock was worth any number of men. It was he who had organized the military force of Upper Canada, and had animated it with spirit and enthusiasm. Had it not been for his ability and aggressiveness, the Americans would have had little trouble in taking possession of the forts and cities they coveted. His work was recognized by the British. A monument to his memory stands in St. Paul's, London, and a fine shaft was begun on the heights of Queenston on the twelfth anniversary of his death, October 13, 1824. This monument was blown up sixteen years later by the Fenians, but was rebuilt at once, and is now one of the most striking and emblematic memorials in all Canada.

honoring
Brock's
memory

In October the first attempt made by the United States to secure the control of Lake Ontario was made. Commodore Isaac Chauncey arrived at Sackett's Harbor and began to create a fleet by purchase and construction. He was able to appear on the lake by November 6 with the brig "Oneida" and six schooners. An attempt was made by him to capture some British ships, but the winter passed without any engagements of serious consequence. Chauncey, however, had shown capacity and energy which seemed likely to produce victories later.

Warships
on Lake
Ontario

OTHER FAILURES TO INVADE CANADA

GENERAL SMYTH, who had succeeded Van Rensselaer in command of the American troops on the

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Fort Erie
resists
Americans

Niagara frontier, made, on November 28th, another attempt to invade Canada. This movement began just above Buffalo, and was directed against Fort Erie. It was another contest in which most of the fighting was done at night. The Americans made a landing successfully and drove away a small force which had planted a battery in their path, but when it came to the serious work of capturing Fort Erie they failed. It was a very much involved contest and reflected very little credit upon either side. The Americans were compelled to withdraw, and winter soon closed in without an American post in Canada. This was a great disappointment to the Americans, not only to the soldiers, but throughout the whole country. One important element on which they relied for success had proved undependable. They had counted upon the assistance of a large proportion of the inhabitants, believing them to be dissatisfied with the Canadian Government. It seems absurd that this expectation had been formed, for almost the whole Province was English, the descendants of the U. E. L., and Loyalist to the backbone.

Dearborn's
four-day
fiasco in
Lower
Canada

A different fate might have been expected very properly from an expedition into Lower Canada. Of this Dearborn was in command, and he was very certain of success. Dearborn had got together nearly 10,000 men on Lake Champlain for the capture of Montreal. Meantime Lower Canada was making as good preparations as could be devised with the limited means and men at hand. Some reinforcements had reached Quebec from England and the West Indies, and the militia had been all called out with good result. For various reasons

THE OPENING OF THE WAR OF 1812

Dearborn did not proceed with the rapidity which was necessary. It was not until the 20th of November that any engagements whatever occurred in Lower Canada. At Odelltown the United States troops had forded the river in two places and made the mistake of firing against each other. This attack, which was not supported, but was supposed to be the precursor to a general movement, excited the whole Province and led to an assembling of large defensive forces all along the frontier. But the season was then getting so late that Dearborn's campaign was already a failure. Furthermore, the same glorious spirit which had animated the New York militia in the attack on Queenston thrilled them here. They declared that they were enlisted for home defense, and not for foreign service. And so, ^{More courageous militiamen} between the coming of winter and the cowardice of his militia, Major-General Dearborn, commander-in-chief of all the forces of the United States army, was compelled to march his force of 10,000 men back to Albany. His campaign on Lake Champlain lasted, it is said, just four days. A more ludicrous fiasco has hardly been seen in military annals since the famous march of the king up the hill and down again. It will thus be seen that the campaign of 1812 from the United States standpoint was not crowned by a single victory on land. It was the first year in all American war history in which that could be recorded.

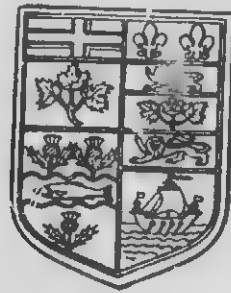
It was thus with a Te Deum spirit that the Legis- ^{The Canadas rejoice} ture of Lower Canada met on the 29th of December. Prevost congratulated the Legislature upon the success of the Canadian armies and asked for further revenue to carry on the war. £15,000 was

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

More war
funds

voted for the equipment of the militia and £25,000 toward general expenses. A duty of two and one-half per cent was imposed on all importations except provisions.

The Legislature of Upper Canada met on the 25th of February, 1813, and was in session about two weeks. Sheaffe was Lieutenant-Governor, having succeeded Brock in civil as well as military affairs. A hearty response was made to his appeal for more funds to carry on the war, and provision was made for the adequate recognition of the services of Brock.



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CHAPTER XL

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

THE campaign of 1813 opened with a deter-
mination on the part of the United States to
make an invasion of Upper Canada and to retrieve
the former defeats. Canadian annals are full at
this time of numerous raids by American officers on
Canadian towns across the St. Lawrence, but
counter raids were made on surrounding American
towns, and no great credit can be claimed by either
party. An expedition which McDonnell of the
Glengarry Fencibles made on the ice against Ogdens-
burg, New York, was a nerry exploit. After an
action of about an hour the Americans were driven
out of the town, eleven guns were captured, includ-
ing two that had been Burgoyne's, and the fort was
burned to the ground. Prevost was with McDon-
nell a short time before the attack was made, and all
but forbade him to make it. Afterward, however,
he claimed a large share of the credit for the suc-
cess of the expedition. This was one of the many
exhibitions by Prevost which showed him unfit to
pose as an officer.

Ogdens-
burg
burned by
Canadians

Prevost
unfit

Sackett's Harbor was during these days a very
busy place. General Zebulon Pike arrived there in
February, 1813, with 5,000 men. He had intended
making Ogdensburg his base, but he reached that

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The
campaign
against
York

point a few days after McDonnell had destroyed the fort. Chauncey was busy at Sackett's Harbor preparing his vessels, and by springtime the united force of Chauncey and Pike was prepared for any formidable task. Their first objective was Toronto, then called York, the Provincial capital then as now. York lay across the lake from Sackett's Harbor, and it is inconceivable that the purpose of the Americans to attack it should not have been suspected from the first, but absolutely no preparation had been made to guard against such an attack, and the town was scarcely fortified. The story of the expedition against York is worth some detailed description, for its acts were used as justification for the British expedition the next year which entered Washington and burned the United States Capitol. York was a minute sort of village at that time, containing less than 1,000 people. A blockhouse and fort had been constructed at the entrance of the harbor, but no other means of defense had been provided. A few companies of militia and regulars were the garrison of the place. On the morning of April 26th the approach of the American force was announced. Sixteen vessels came into view and prepared to land a force to take the town. Sir Roger Sheaffe, who was in command at York, gathered together the few troops he could find, and attempted to oppose the American advance. About 400 men were thrown against the same number who had landed from the American ships, and a plucky fight occurred. The Americans were reenforced, however, and their opponents gave way in this unequal contest. While this fight was going on in the woods, a terrific ex-

Americans
attack it.
April 26th

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

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plosion occurred. It was that of a magazine of the western battery of the town. An artilleryman had lighted a match and was waiting for the order to fire; it having been delayed for some reason, he threw the match away, but unfortunately it fell into the magazine with terrible results. Three artillerymen and several of the soldiers were killed, and the cannon were, of course, dismounted and rendered useless. There was no wisdom in an attempt to hold the town against overwhelming odds, and Sheaffe determined to retreat to Kingston, commissioning two officers and the Rev. Dr. Strachan, rector of the English church, to arrange for the capitulation.

British
retreat

GENERAL PIKE KILLED

THE fighting had been carried on from seven o'clock in the morning until two o'clock in the afternoon, and having made such a strong resistance, Sheaffe was entirely justified in the retreat. As if one explosion were not enough for that day, another occurred at this time. General Zebulon Pike was in active command of the American troops, which consisted of about 1,700 men. He took possession of the fort and sent forward a picket to learn if any further opposition was to be met. While waiting for the return of the picket, he sat down upon a stump and looked about him. Inside the fort were the usual barracks and storehouses, and nearby was a stone building in which the powder was stored. While he was conversing with a wounded prisoner, this magazine exploded, causing terrible havoc. Pike was almost instantly killed, and 260 of his men were either killed or wounded. Thus perished a man

Explosion
kills 260
Americans

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Explosion
angers the
invaders

whose work of discovery in the Rocky Mountains has been recognized in his name applied to one of their loftiest peaks. The cause of this explosion remains to-day as deep a secret as that of the blowing up of the United States ship "Maine" in the harbor of Havana in 1898. There was a story that it was caused by a drunken soldier, but there is no evidence to prove this. At any rate, the affair provoked great rage throughout the American forces, as it was regarded generally by them as having been a deliberate act of the enemy. Possibly it was merely accidental, but the explosion itself was undoubtedly used as a justification for harsh acts which were later committed by some of the American troops.

SPOILIATION BY AMERICANS

Public
buildings
burned

THERE was some delay in arranging the articles of capitulation of York, and in the mean time the Americans were accused of insulting the inhabitants and committing other acts of wanton brutality. Worse than this, all the public stores were carried away and the public buildings burned, and with them the public records. Even the money in the Provincial Treasury, only about £2,000, fell into the Americans' hands. Dr. Strachan was furious at the condition of affairs, and demanded of General Dearborn that the articles of capitulation be signed immediately, but Dearborn treated him with contempt, and it was not until the afternoon of the second day that it was done. Dr. Strachan, who afterward became the first bishop of Toronto, made a vehement and sarcastic protest to Thomas Jefferson against the actions of the American troops. He asserted that the

Dr.
Strachan
bitterly
Americans

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PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING, EDMONTON, ALBERTA
From the Architect's Drawing

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

church was robbed of its plate, the library was burned, along with the records, many houses were pillaged and injured, and other acts of venality were committed. Commodore Chauncey was indignant at the outrage and sent back some of the books.

This, so far as we can learn, is a pretty fair account of what occurred there. The action of General Dearborn in permitting this to go on can not be excused. In a city, where it would be impossible for the commander to keep in touch with all his men, pillage might have been carried on without his knowledge, but in this little village with only a handful of houses every officer and man in the army knew what was going on. The only possible excuse for it was the explosion of the powder magazine which had killed Pike and his men and the fury of the American troops for revenge. Then, too, of course, the Americans could not conceive that this little town was really a capital, and did not comprehend what an insult the destruction of these buildings and records was to a proud people. But with the best light we can possibly place upon it, the affair was disgraceful to the United States and could not possibly occur to-day.

The Americans continued in possession of the town only two days longer, proceeding to Niagara, and making no attempt to pursue Sheaffe. Besides the 260 men killed and wounded by the explosion, the United States expedition lost 14 killed and 32 wounded, while the British loss was very much greater. The action of Sheaffe at this time was regarded by his troops and by the people of Toronto as cowardly, so much so that in June he was removed from command, and De Rottenberg was ap-

General
Dearborn
to blame

Sheaffe
removed
from
command

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Sheaffe no
coward

pointed in his place. This seems to have been a harsh verdict. Undoubtedly Sheaffe had not taken proper precautions to guard against attack, but his conduct on the day of the battle, simply because he did not expose himself to the fire of the larger force, was no reason for regarding him as a coward.

THE NIAGARA FRONTIER

Americans
take Fort
George,
May 27

THE gathering of Chauncey's and Dearborn's forces at Niagara was planned for the plain purpose of crossing the Niagara River and taking post in Canada, the objective point being Fort George. There were at Niagara about 7,000 troops, besides the marines and crews of Chauncey's ships. Opposed to them was a British force of about 2,300 men under the command of Major-General Vincent. One thousand of these men were stationed at Fort George. The Americans wasted very little time in getting to work. At four o'clock in the morning of the 27th of May they started their troops across the river, and after fighting, which lasted until about noon, the British abandoned Fort George and retreated to Beaver Dam, about twenty miles south, where a depot of provisions and ammunition had been established. It was impossible, of course, for Vincent with his small body of men to cope with the overwhelming mass of the enemy, and his action in retreating after a brief but honorable resistance was wise. But his loss was very severe, making a total of 443 men killed or wounded and missing, while the Americans had lost only 150.

Thus in one day a total change had come over the control of the Niagara frontier. Every British post was abandoned, and the United States was in

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

full possession. Vincent, after a brief rest at Beaver Dam, retired to Burlington Heights, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario about forty miles from Fort George. Here he expected an attack at once from the Americans under Dearborn, but Dearborn, having done so well in one day, failed to follow up his advantage, and lost an opportunity which later cost him dearly. With all the men that he had at his command he ought immediately to have pursued Vincent and driven him into a corner to surrender. But he allowed several days to go by, and in that time Vincent's forces had recovered their courage, and were prepared for a better resistance. Dearborn set out on the 1st of June and ought easily to have covered the forty miles to Burlington Heights in three days, but it was the 5th before he reached a place called Stoney Creek, only seven miles from the British camp. The fact of his arrival at that place was instantly known by Vincent's army, and one of his officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, after a reconnaissance, proposed a night attack. This was a daring thing to attempt, but, as the situation was desperate, Vincent accepted the suggestion and gave Harvey the leadership.

A BRILLIANT BRITISH SUCCESS

TAKING about 700 men, Harvey reached the American position about two o'clock on the morning of June 6th. The movement was a complete surprise. The sentries were bayoneted, and the troops were thrown into confusion and nearly all took to flight. Some of them attempted to form in line of battle and even to use a cannon, but in the darkness it was impossible for them to proceed in any order or with any

Dearborn
slow to
follow
up his
advantage

Americans
at Stoney
Creek

Surprised
and put to
flight

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The British
withdraw

knowledge. After two hours' fighting and when dawn was breaking, the British withdrew, taking with them some guns and about a hundred prisoners, including two brigadier-generals, Chandler and Winder. It was nobody's victory so far as the immediate results were concerned. The loss on each side was about the same, but the ultimate analysis shows it to have been decidedly a British victory. The force under Dearborn was five times that under Harvey, and Dearborn was completely surprised and his progress toward Burlington Heights stopped. Undoubtedly the Americans were not only defeated but thrown into something like a panic, or, in spite of this reversal, they would have gone ahead in dogged American fashion and followed Harvey to Burlington Heights and there attacked him and the entire British army. But about this time, through some oversight, the flotilla of boats which accompanied the American forces on the lake was surprised by some British ships under Sir James Yeo. A landing party from his ships attacked the American camp and destroyed some of the provisions. The effect of these two reverses, coming so closely together, was disastrous. Not only did Dearborn not follow Harvey but he retired to Fort George and abandoned his post at Fort Erie and other posts on the river. Thus was a campaign which opened with such high promise for the Americans turned into disappointment, and other disappointments were to follow.

Dearborn
retreats to
the river

A WINTER'S MARCH

DURING this winter reinforcements reached Vincent at Burlington Heights in the shape of a regiment

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

from New Brunswick. The march of this regiment is a notable one, as the achievement has not often been equaled in any country. This was the 104th regiment, which was stationed at Fredericton, N. B., and marched overland from that place to Quebec in the middle of winter, a distance of 245 miles. The regiment consisted of 1,000 men and 42

From Fred-
erickton to
Quebec,
245 miles

The march began on the 14th of February, twenty-seven days later the men crossed the ice. They lost no men on the trip on the way or was any one ill when they reached Quebec. Each man was furnished with a pair of snowshoes, moccasins, and a blanket. There was a delay at Lake Temiscouata for three days caused by a heavy snowstorm. The only difficulty encountered was a lack of provisions, so that really the only hardship felt by the men was that they were hungry. After a rest of two days at Quebec they set out for the scene of war. This march must not be forgotten in showing the endurance of men and their ability when properly prepared for winter weather. As a matter of fact, campaigning in the winter is far healthier and easier, and in all respects better for troops, than campaigning in the summer, and the sympathy that is felt for soldiers in the frozen North is very often wasted.

Sympathy
wasted

LAURA SECORD

An incident of the next summer in the Upper Canadian campaign was the capture of Lieutenant-Colonel Boerlster's force by a small Canadian band. Boerlster was an American officer who had been ordered to attack a British post near Twelve-mile Creek. The news of this expedition became known

A brave
mother

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Warned
British
of their
danger

in the family of David Secord, and the exploit of his wife, Laura, in giving information to the British of the approaching attack is one of the choice stories of the history of Ontario. She was a woman of thirty-eight, the mother of five children, and her walk of about twenty-five miles all day and part of the night was notable for its bravery and indomitable spirit, although accomplished under no particularly unfavorable circumstances except that the fields were full of mud and it was a disagreeable day. At night she ran across a camp of Indians, was led by them to Lieutenant FitzGibbon of the Forty-ninth, and warned him of the impending attack of Boerlster. Soon afterward, Boerlster came along, and now his advance was disputed by a large force of Indians concealed in the bushes and trees. A number of his men were killed, and he was himself wounded twice. Unable to find the enemy, his force was thrown into considerable confusion, and FitzGibbon took advantage of the evident demoralization of his opponents to go forth with a white flag and demand Boerlster's surrender. After some negotiations and threats the surrender was accomplished. There were in FitzGibbon's party only about seventy-five men in addition to the Indians. It was with this force that he received the surrender of an American army of 25 officers and 519 non-commissioned officers and men with two cannon and two ammunition cars. This was an incident which served to fill the Americans with intense chagrin and correspondingly to elevate the spirits of the Canadians.

Surrendered to a
greatly
inferior
force

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

HARRISON'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST DETROIT

RETURNING now to the extreme western field of contest, we recall that Proctor was left in charge of the British fort at Detroit. It could not be supposed that the Americans would very long permit that fort to be held without a contest, and early in the year 1813 an expedition under William Henry Harrison, who was Governor of the Territory of Indiana, started from Fort Wayne, about 160 miles south of Detroit, toward that point. Two or three expeditions were sent out against it by Proctor, and in one of these the Indians butchered several American captives. This sort of performance on the part of the Indians was calculated to cast discredit upon many other British operations throughout the war. General Winchester, who commanded the advance of Harrison's army from Fort Wayne, had entrenched himself on the Maumee River at a place called Fort Meigs. He was able to repulse the attacks made upon him and still further advance from Fort Meigs on the road to Detroit until he reached Frenchtown, at the western extremity of Lake Erie, and about forty miles south of Detroit. There he was surprised by an attack from Proctor on January 21st, and after a sharp contest, lasting for only an hour, the Americans were defeated with great slaughter and compelled to capitulate. The British, however, lost severely, about 182 killed and wounded in a force of 500 men. There were 495 prisoners taken, and two or three hundred men must have been killed or wounded. Winchester himself was captured. This was a most decisive victory for the British, and gave Proctor great renown,

Proctor
in chargeHarrison's
advance
routed at
French-
town by
Proctor.
Jan. 21

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

although after the battle he hurried back to Amherstburg, leaving wounded prisoners to be butchered by the Indians. The Legislature of Quebec passed a vote of thanks to him, and Prevost immediately promoted him to be brigadier-general. It was unfortunate, as time was to show, that the dashing qualities displayed by Proctor in this campaign should have not been accompanied by other traits which were necessary to make him a competent commander.

Proctor
fails to cap-
ture Har-
rison's fort

American
prisoners
toma-
hawked

General William Henry Harrison was now determined to win Detroit at any cost. He reorganized his force and built a more substantial fort on the Maumee, about twelve miles from the river's mouth. It was to attack this force that Proctor, near the close of April, sent out an expedition of about 1,000 men. There were also about 1,500 Indians, and considerable artillery and two gunboats. They arrived at the mouth of the Maumee on the 1st of May, and began an attack upon the American fort. Some batteries were erected on both sides of the river by Proctor, but these were carried without any great difficulty by Harrison and Clay. The latter had been ordered, after carrying the batteries, to retire. He failed to do this, and was cut off from the fort by the Indians under Tecumseh, and 450 of his men were captured. He and 150 others made their escape. It was during this fight that 40 American prisoners were tomahawked by the Indians, although Tecumseh denied any share in the affair, and, it is said, prevented any further slaughter. While the British had thus far had all the advantage of the campaign, they had not taken Harrison's fort, and they were not likely to do so.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

Every day that the contest kept up, his hold grew stronger, while the British grew weaker. Summer was coming on, the Indians were deserting, and the farmers in Proctor's militia were anxious to return home and put in their crops. It was, therefore, Proctor's only choice to abandon the siege, which he did about the first week in May. His loss had been small in men, but in prestige great.

Two further expeditions of his against the same fort were made during the summer. The first one was undertaken at the close of July, it is said by the urgent request of Tecumseh. A childlike attempt at strategy was made by simulating an attack not far from the fort in order to draw out a sortie, which would leave the fort unprotected. The firing was made as proposed, but Harrison was too wily a commander to make a sortie without investigation, and the campaign had to be given up. But Harrison had established another American fort in that neighborhood, that is, at Sandusky. Proctor determined to attack this by assault, and led his expedition along the lake to that point. Sandusky was brilliantly defended by Colonel Croghan without Harrison's help, and Proctor was compelled to return to Amherstburg with the loss of 96 men and absolutely nothing gained. If, instead of spending his time in fruitless expeditions against fortified posts, he had employed his force in the construction of ships, the result of his efforts in western Canada would have been very different.

A second attempt fails

Sandusky also resists Proctor

PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE

It was absolutely necessary that the British have command of Lake Erie in order to keep up commu-

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

nication between Detroit and the base of supplies. This was especially imperative after the Americans had got control of the Niagara River, for, if the Americans should once stop the despatch of provisions to Proctor via the lake, it would be impossible for his force to be sustained because the transport of provisions by land was too difficult and expensive. Captain Barclay of the British navy was a good officer, and used to the utmost of its capacity the material which he had at hand. He had come into command of the British force on the lake at the end of June with only nineteen sailors and five ships, with a total of only about 40 guns. There was much confusion in preparing these vessels for service, and Barclay received very little assistance from Proctor, nor did Prevost seem to sense the critical position of Proctor's army, for he made no comprehensive provision for furnishing Barclay with ships. In the mean time Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry of the United States navy at Presqu'Île had been putting in his time fitting out a formidable flotilla, and had succeeded in cutting off the despatch of provisions to Detroit.

Barclay's
untrained
force

He is
forced to
offer battle,
Sept. 10

By this time, that is, the first of September, Proctor's supplies had greatly diminished, and besides his 1,000 men he had over 3,500 Indians who were dependent upon him for provisions. Perry had cruised up to Amherstburg and held the whole force blockaded. The crisis now became so acute that it was necessary for Barclay to make an attempt to rid the lake of the American fleet, so on the 9th of September he sailed from Amherstburg with four ships and two small boats and a crew of 345 men, few of whom were experienced sailors. On the next morning

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

Commodore Perry sailed from Put-in-Bay with his fleet, consisting of nine ships and a crew of 650 men. Not only in numbers was the American fleet superior, but in long guns and in the quality of the crews. This battle on Lake Erie is one of the historic and proudest contests of the history of the United States. In almost every detail the American fleet showed itself superior to the British. Although Perry's flagship, the "Lawrence," was so badly shattered that he was compelled to leave her during the contest, he kept up the fight on the "Niagara." Barclay himself was wounded; the captain of one of his best ships was killed early in the action, and another was severely wounded, so that the direction of the fleet was in inexperienced hands. The contest lasted most of the day, and was witnessed by a large crowd on the American shore. It was one of the most spectacular of all inland-sea battles of history, and one of the few witnessed by people on land. The contest, as we all know, ended in a complete American victory, which Perry epitomized in his famous despatch to Harrison: "We have met the enemy and they are ours"—almost as epigrammatic as Cæsar's "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" The British lost in this battle 133 rank and file out of 384 men, while the Americans lost 123 out of 650.

DETROIT RETAKEN AND PROCTOR OVERWHELMED

THIS battle settled the fate of Proctor's army. It was clear to him, as it was undoubtedly to all his officers, that, with winter coming on, he could not maintain himself, since his source of supplies had been cut off. Especially was his post critical since he knew that Harrison with 5,000 men, only a few

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

British
begin to
retreat

Harrison
in swift
pursuit

No plan to
withstand
attack

miles away, would soon be upon him. The only thing to do, therefore, was to retreat to Burlington Heights, on Lake Ontario, where Vincent's army was in camp. Tecumseh, the Shawnee chief, was very much opposed to retreat, but he was finally won over, and preparations for the march began very soon after the news of Barclay's defeat. It is unnecessary to give in detail the story of this retreat. It was accomplished by about as many blunders as any campaign in all history. Proctor seems to have made up his mind that he would not be followed, and that the Americans, after having taken Detroit and Amherstburg, would kindly permit him to get away. Too many generals, both on the British and the American side, had shown this failing, but Harrison was not built that way. He was on Proctor's track almost from the first, for he came across the lake as soon as he could get his force ready after Perry's victory, and landed just below Amherstburg on September 27th. He first took possession of Detroit, where Proctor had burned all the public buildings, and on October 2d, with 4,000 men, he left Sandwich in pursuit of the enemy. He was unencumbered by any heavy baggage, while Proctor had an enormous lot of baggage and other impedimenta. By this time Proctor was moving along in a desultory way as if on picnic bent. But when his force had arrived near the village of Moraviantown, it halted and an attempt was made to form a line to prepare for the attack of Harrison's force, which every one knew was coming on rapidly. But there was absolutely no discipline; there was no order of battle, no fortification, no plan of attack or defense or provision for retreat.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

The consequence was that when Harrison's men came forward, led by 1,500 mounted Kentucky riflemen, and began the charge, the British line was not able to stand more than one or two volleys. They broke in disorder and within a few minutes surrendered. Among those killed was Tecumseh. This Shawnee chieftain has been sometimes pictured as a sort of demigod. As a matter of fact, he seems to have felt a great hatred toward the Americans and to have led many expeditions and movements which were bloodthirsty and treacherous. It was not without reason, therefore, that all the American settlements in the Ohio country rejoiced when they heard of his death. They might have shown their feelings in a finer way than by using his skin as a razor strop, but that was only one of the pleasantries and rude customs of life on the frontier.

British
beaten and
Tecumseh
is killed at
Moravian-
town,
Oct. 5

During this fight Proctor played safety. When his men surrendered, he was nowhere near. There were only about 800 whites and Indians in the line that awaited Harrison, but Proctor had with him when next heard from, at Burlington Heights, a total force of 246 men and 53 horses. It seems generally understood that this force, which ought to have been standing by comrades in the battle, was guarding Proctor's baggage and insuring the safety of Proctor's wife. How many lives Proctor's wife and baggage cost the British army has not been estimated, but the whole episode was enough to damn Proctor in the estimation of his men and of the whole country. Proctor attempted to vindicate his conduct, but it seems to have been on his part a clear case of panic and an undue desire for the

Proctor had
fled to
Burlington
Heights

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Court-martialed and publicly reprimanded

safety of his property and his family. Proctor was tried by court-martial at Montreal during the latter part of the next year, and while the court brought in a general exculpation it found him guilty on several of the charges and he was sentenced to be publicly reprimanded and to be suspended from rank and pay for six months. The general order which recorded this verdict was even more emphatic of disapprobation of Proctor's acts than was the court-martial. After the battle Harrison's men burned Moraviantown, a lawless, shameful act. The prisoners taken by Harrison were sent to Ohio and then to the Frankfort Penitentiary in Kentucky, where they were confined in jail and handcuffed and subjected to considerable indignity.

Harrison's victory discourages the Indians

This ended the campaign in the Detroit region. Harrison allowed nearly all of his troops to go home and left there a small garrison. The defeat at Moraviantown meant that not only would the British no longer molest the United States troops in the West, but that the Indians were completely cowed. And the Indians were the backbone of the British forces there. Many otherwise intelligent people who can not understand the hatred of the Western settlers for the Indians and regard it as an evidence of barbarism should read the whole story of these border wars. The part played by the Indians in that Western campaign was most costly to the United States. As Henry Adams so well expresses it,¹ "No more than seven or eight hundred British soldiers ever crossed the Detroit River; but the United States raised fully twenty thousand men and spent at least five million dollars and many

¹ "History of the United States," Vol. VIII.

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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

lives in expelling them. The Indians alone made this outlay necessary."

The disasters which the British had sustained in the extreme West were almost crushing, but they were somewhat softened by the successes which they won on other battlegrounds of the war during this year. Sir James Yeo was in command of all the British naval forces on the Lakes, and his immediate command extended to those on Lake Ontario. As we have already stated, he came to Canada late in the year and was compelled to improvise a navy. Chauncey, on the other hand, had some excellent ships at Sackett's Harbor, and kept increasing his force. The only naval expedition which Chauncey undertook during the year was the destruction of some stores at Burlington Heights and a revisitation to York. It would seem as if his former visit with Pike and Dearborn had destroyed about all there was to destroy in the Provincial capital, but he managed to seize some provisions and to open the jails and capture some cannon. Yeo was quickly on his track, and throughout September these fleets met in several engagements, which were, for the most part inconclusive, because they were not protracted nor in any way hand-to-hand. But the advantage seemed to lie with Yeo, largely because he was more eager to fight than Chauncey.

Chauncey
and Yeo
on Lake
Ontario

THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST MONTREAL

On the Niagara frontier during this fall very little occurred. The Americans still held Fort George, and there were occasional expeditions sent out into the interior and a few slight engagements. Dearborn by this time had thoroughly sickened of his

Wilkins
succeed.
Dearborn

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

task of attempting to conquer Upper Canada, and had given way to General Wilkinson with headquarters at Sackett's Harbor. On the arrival of Wilkinson, in August, it was determined to make an energetic attempt to capture Montreal. His plans for this campaign were confirmed and highly approved by Armstrong, the Secretary of War, who visited Sackett's Harbor in October. The general plan of campaign was that Wilkinson should proceed down the river to the Île Perrot; there he was to be met with an expedition under General Wade Hampton, which should come up Lake Champlain and march overland to that place; together they were to advance against Lachine and then on to Montreal.

Careless
garrisons

The American forces on Lake Champlain had been singularly inactive. Although there were large forces situated at Burlington, Plattsburg, Champlain, and Swanston, on Missisquoi Bay, which had been gathered there by General Hampton for the invasion of Lower Canada, these places seemed to have been insufficiently guarded. It is surprising to learn that, in the latter part of July, the British commandant at Île-aux-Noix was able to send out some gunboats and troops, which destroyed stores and barracks, and captured provisions at Plattsburg, at Champlain, at Burlington, and at Swanston. The audacity of such an achievement in the face of the fact that these places were apparently well fortified and occupied by reasonably large forces of American troops, shows how poorly they were commanded. However, these disasters, which were, as one might judge, considerable in money and in the embarrassments to the service which they caused,

Poor com-
manders

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

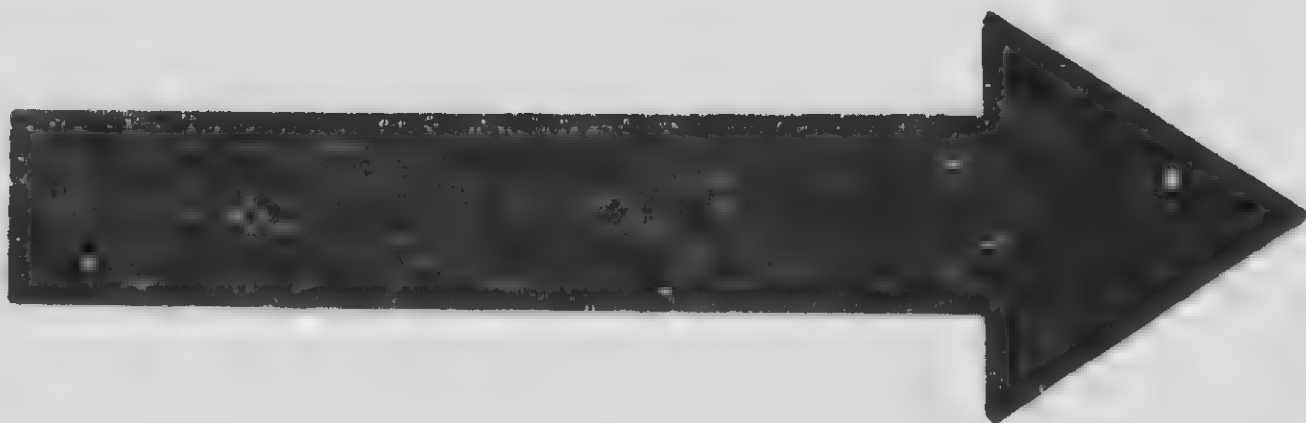
did not seem in any way to interfere with Hampton's preparations for his invasion of Canada. He left his headquarters in August, and, on the 24th, with 5,000 men, entered Canada at Odelltown. When he had penetrated a few miles north along the road to Lacadie, he found it so impassable by reason of mud, swamps, and abattis, that he determined to abandon this route and take another. So he marched back across the line to Champlain, and then, following the Great Chazy River to the Chateauguay River, he was on the way to follow this river to its mouth on Lake St. Louis, when he encountered a Canadian force.

Hampton
enters
Canada

THE FIGHT IN THE WOODS OF CHATEAUGUAY

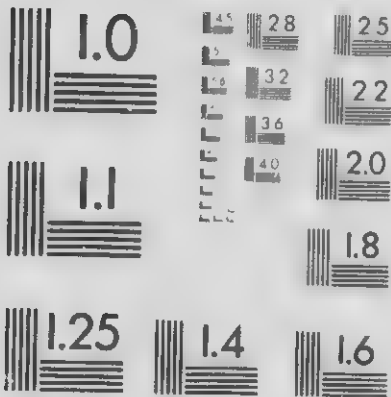
THIS force had been recruited in great haste, but with admirable efficiency. From various sources had been gathered an army of possibly three or four thousand men, although the number has been constantly understated. Some of these troops had come from Kingston, under Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell, and made a very quick march across the country. Others had come from Montreal, under De Salaberry, and there were other scattered forces, which finally combined to resist Hampton's advance on the 25th of October. Then ensued at the fort on the river a contest which was abundant in its humors as well as in its excitement. There were only 300 men drawn up to oppose Hampton's advance, and when the American cavalry had put this force to rout they found, to their surprise, that they were confronted with a second line much more formidable than the first. At this point De Salaberry showed great ingenuity and invention. He con-

Hampton
fuzzled
maneuver



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

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THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

trived to have a number of buglers stationed in the woods into which his force had been driven by the Americans, and, with some Indians and lusty-lunged troopers, they all contrived to make such a heathenish and outlandish noise that, while in the midst of their charge, the American troops halted and wondered what in thunder was ahead of them. As they stopped, the enemy came forward, and there ensued in the woods a little battle which was really won by the strategy of De Salaberry in counterfeiting the presence of about 10,000 troops. A great many accounts of this battle have been printed, but in some respects it was a very simple manœuvre, and a commander with any real fitness for the position would not have been deceived to any serious extent. The feint of having an advance force give way and then be supported by a stronger force has succeeded very often, notably at the battle of the Cowpens, where Greene defeated Cornwallis; but good generalship would not allow that old manœuvre to prevail even if it were supported by noise, buglers, and yelling. But good generalship was not directing the American army that day, and the result was that the United States forces were so completely surprised to find any opposition at all, and were then led to so greatly magnify the numbers opposing them, that the only course open to the commander was to retreat to Plattsburg, which he did. The credit for this victory was claimed by Prevost himself, although he had nothing to do with it, and he so successfully belittled the achievements of the men who really did bring it to pass that it was not for some years that the true facts were given and the real heroes of the affair, De Salaberry and McDon-

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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

nell, received their reward. De Salaberry's part in the battle is especially worth noting, for it was the first victory won by French Canadians for the British flag. It was a humiliating experience for the Americans to be tricked by any opposition force, and especially to be beaten and to be compelled to retreat by a force much inferior.

ANOTHER AMERICAN DISASTER, AT
CHRYSTLER'S FARM

MEANWHILE let us see what was happening to the other wing of the expedition which was to capture Montreal. Disregarding all prudence and discretion, Wilkinson let the days go by until it was the 17th of October before his troops, to the number of 8,000 men, embarked at Sackett's Harbor, and it was the 5th of November before they began the descent of the St. Lawrence. Now, beginning a campaign in Canada on the 5th of November is as fatuous as any military expedition could possibly be; but Wilkinson went on his way rejoicing, and issued a proclamation, dated the 6th of November, telling the inhabitants of Canada that he had come to capture the country. Kingston, which had already sent out one expedition that fall, and which had assisted powerfully in the defeat of Hampton at Chateauguay, no sooner heard of the despatch of Wilkinson's force down the river than its citizens were employed to fall upon that force. Kingston, as we may remember, was a peculiarly loyal spot. It was the seat of the first settlement of the Loyalists in Upper Canada, and it remains to-day Tory in sentiment and in temper.

Wilkinson
delays
starting
until Nov 5

Kingston
prepares
for him

Meanwhile the Americans proceeded down the

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

American
force
divided and
one part
attacked

river, but when they reached the Longue Sault Rapids they divided into two parts, one, under General Wilkinson, taking the right side, and the other, under General Boyd with 2,500 men, taking the left side. Boyd landed about where Prescott, Ontario, is to-day, and was engaged in clearing up the country and dispersing any British forces that might be likely to annoy him. While there, on November 10th, about 800 British troops under Colonel Morrison, which had hurried from Kingston, came up and attacked him. He sent word to Wilkinson of the approach of the British column, but Wilkinson did not think the matter was serious, and so continued preparations to run the rapids, letting Boyd get out of his dilemma the best way he could. If Wilkinson had sent a small force to assist Boyd, undoubtedly they could have beaten the Canadians. It was a smart fight that took place here, at a spot called Chrysler's Farm, and the issue was not clearly decisive. The advantage, however, was with the British, who lost only 181 out of 800, while the Americans lost about 300 out of 2,500, and perhaps 100 prisoners were taken by the British. But Morrison was not able to intercept Boyd's connection with his boats, and so the Americans were able to make their way down the river without any further interruption; but the defeat—for defeat it was—had a depressing effect upon the entire American army.

The
Americans
really
beaten

When Wilkinson had arrived at the foot of the rapids, where he was to make a junction with Hampton, he learned that Hampton had been defeated and compelled to fall back to Plattsburg. This news, together with the recent defeat of Boyd's army, convinced Wilkinson that it was impossible for him,

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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

single-handed, to go any farther toward Montreal ^{Wilkinson} that winter. This he might have known before he ^{sees the} left Sackett's Harbor. The only thing to do was to ^{folly of his} go into winter quarters, on the right bank of the ^{project} river, and make the best of it. It was impossible, of course, to go back to Sackett's Harbor at that time of year and up-stream, and so Wilkinson went into winter quarters at the village of Malone, on ^{The} Canadian territory. There they remained until the ^{winter at} 12th of February, when it was decided to divide the ^{Malone} force, part to return to Sackett's Harbor and the other to Plattsburg. Even on this retreat they were harassed by the Canadians, and 100 sleighloads of stores and provisions were captured.

THE NIAGARA FRONTIER ABANDONED

THUS the end of the campaign of 1813 was by no means satisfactory to the Americans. Harrison, it is true, had got possession of Detroit, and Perry ruled Lake Erie, but the disasters at Stoney Creek, Chateaugay, and Chrystler's took a good deal off the force of the American victories. And even on the Niagara frontier, where so little had been happening all the year, there were sources of British gratification and of American mortification. McClure was in command of the Americans at Fort George, and he ordered several expeditions into the interior, which were aggressive and punitive to the highest degree. He had attempted also to influence the body of the population to forswear their allegiance to Great Britain, but in this he was unsuccessful. Having been situated for some time in the ^{McClure} village of Newark, now Niagara, on leaving it he ^{burns} decided to burn it, and the order which he gave was ^{Newark}

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

carried out to the fullest extent. There were about 150 houses in the town, and 149 of them were burned. The necessity of this action does not appear. McClure had been given authority to burn the town if it was a military necessity, but there was no such military necessity apparent, so far as we can learn, and the affair, together with the harsh measures which attended it, formed the subject of considerable correspondence between the British and American officers during the succeeding year, and McClure's action found no defense in the United States. It was an outrage, and can not be regarded in any other light.

Americans
retreat
across the
river

Probably because of this outrage the British commander was encouraged to attempt retaliation. A small force under Murray set forth from Vincent's headquarters to attack Fort George, whither McClure had retired after burning Newark. To Murray's great surprise, on arriving near Fort George, he learned that McClure had abandoned it and fled across the river. The abandonment was almost precipitous, for he left behind him considerable stores and ordnance, and he did not destroy the barracks, which had been recently constructed, and even some of his tents had been left standing. This showed to the British that McClure was not a brave man, and this success encouraged them to follow him across the Niagara River to Fort Niagara, of which he was now in command.

THE BURNING OF BUFFALO

Sir Gordon
Drummond
arrives

ABOUT this time Sir Gordon Drummond arrived in Canada, to assist Prevost in the direction of military affairs. He was a native Canadian, having

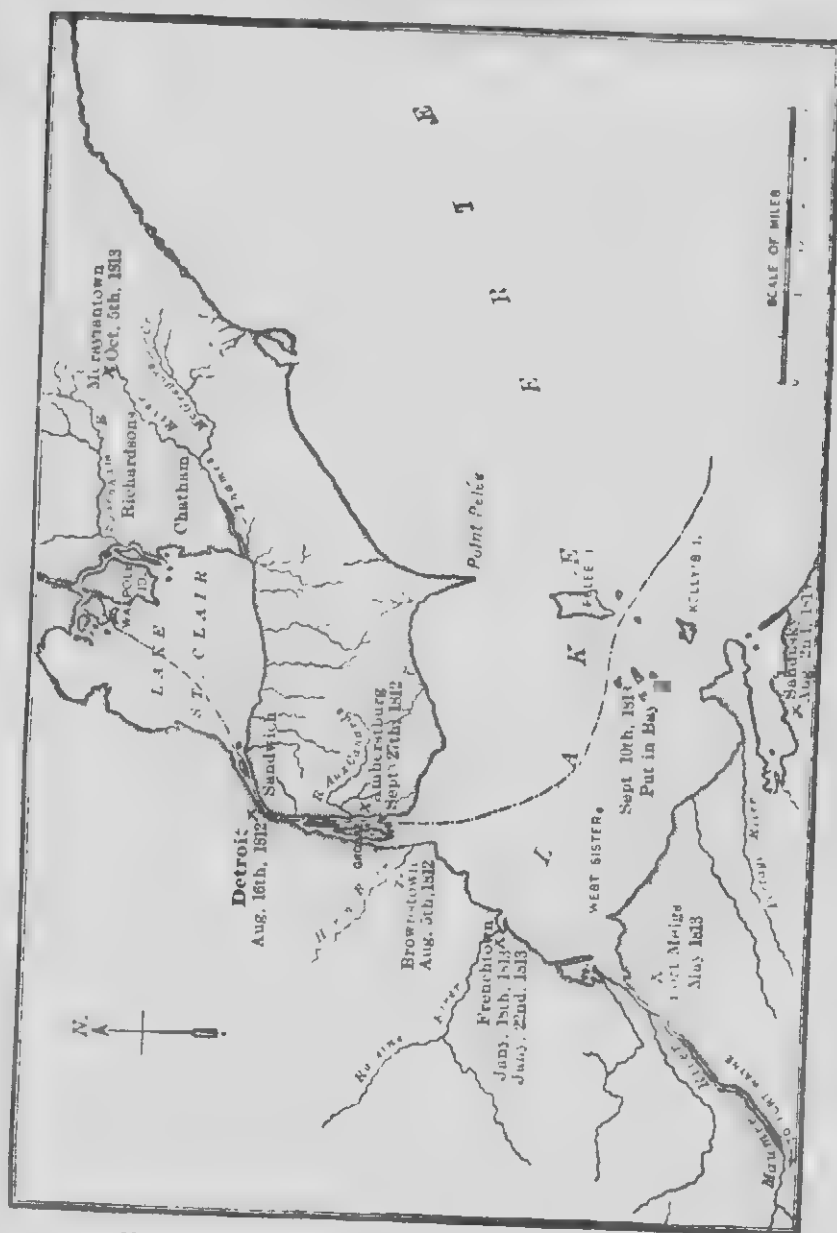
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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813



MAP OF DETROIT AND WESTERN LAKE ERIE

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Drummond
a Canadian been born in Quebec in 1771. He had entered the army when eighteen years of age, and, after various campaigns, had worked himself up to the position of lieutenant-general. He was a friend of the Duke of Kent, and was under obligations to him for some of his promotions. On arriving at Quebec he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and immediately went to the front. With Major-General Riall, who accompanied him to North America, he went to take command of the army in Upper Canada, and reached Vincent's headquarters a few days after McClure had abandoned Fort George. He was an excellent and aggressive officer, and was ready to further any advance movement. Murray, who had been so energetic in capturing Fort George, urged an assault on Fort Niagara. This was made on December 18th, and was a complete surprise to the American forces and an easy victory for the British. The contest lasted only a few minutes, so that at the end of 1813 the British flag floated where it had been down since 1793. The garrison was not large, only about 420, but the place was well fortified, and the capture of it by the British was clearly the result of bad generalship and failure to guard against surprise on the part of the Americans.

British flag
over Fort
Niagara
again

The British followed up their advantage by taking Lewiston the next day and burning that place as well as other towns in the vicinity. Fort Erie, opposite Buffalo, had been abandoned by the American forces, and Drummond used this as a basis for operations against Buffalo. After a hot fight at Black Rock and Buffalo, the Americans were driven out of the town, and Buffalo fell into the possession

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THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813

of the British. There they repeated the deplorable action of the Americans at Newark and York. They burned the entire city of Buffalo, including all the public buildings and whatever provisions they did not want. There was no more credit to the British in this action than there was to the Americans in the other, but it was retaliation, and under that name many sins are condoned. It was now the 1st of January, and the British troops, having waged a very plucky and effective campaign, at the end of the year went into winter quarters, well satisfied with their work.

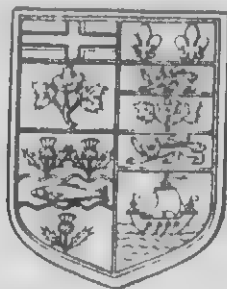
Buffalo
burned.
Dec. 4, 1813

The demoralization made by the failure of the American expedition against Montreal was apparent in the attempt made by each of the three parties responsible for it to charge it upon the other. As a matter of fact, we know that all three were to blame, Hampton least of all, and Armstrong most of all. The latter, as Secretary of War, was a conspicuous misfit, for whose appointment President Madison was responsible. He designed a campaign that, with the men and means at hand at that time of year, was absurdly impracticable, and the generals under him who were leading the two divisions of the expedition ought really to have been thanked for not losing their armies. An amusing feature of this campaign is the strikingly different view placed upon Hampton's defeat at Chateauguy by British and American authors. Some American writers do not even mention that Hampton met any opposing force. Others treat the battle as a mere skirmish, and speak of the entire campaign as bloodless, which is far from the truth. But some British authorities devote pages and pages to this little affray, as if it

Generals
blaming
each other
for
American
defeats

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Bias among historians were one of the great battles of the war. Kingsford, indeed, gives about twice as much space to it as he does to Perry's victory on Lake Erie. In fact, it may be remarked at this point that, for some peculiar reason, the history of the War of 1812 shows in its treatment the greatest bias on national lines of any history which I have ever read. We shall see how diverse these accounts are when we come to the battle of Lundy's Lane.



CHAPTER XLI

THE EVENTS OF 1814

WILKINSON was in supreme command at ^{Wilkinson} Plattsburg after his retirement to that place, ^{battle of by a} and early in the spring again began his prepara- ^{stone mill} tions for the invasion of Lower Canada. General Hampton had shown himself the best man of the three by resigning from the army, so Wilkinson was now unhampered, and in March, at the head of 4,000 men, he set out for Canada; just what he expected to do, no one seems to know, except to destroy any British force he might meet just across the line. He knew, of course, that he could not make his way to Montreal. In his march forward he had to cross Lacolle Creek, ten miles south of Ile-aux-Noix. At that crossing stood a stone mill two stories high, which served as a fort for the British. Only about 200 men held the fort, and ^{Disparity} Wilkinson had 4,000 excellently drilled soldiers. ^{of the} He ^{forces} supposed that he would have an easy time in capturing it, but when he reached it, on March 30th, he found that it was a very formidable obstruction. Then, too, the roads were practically impassable with snow and mud, and the weather was as depressing and miserable as March weather in the North can be. With his two twelve-pound field guns he opened fire on the mill, but in spite of all his efforts that building was practically unharmed

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

after two hours of firing. Then this great hero, without any further attempt to take it, retreated to Champlain, and another campaign against Canada was chalked down a failure!

Wilkinson
roundly
abused

This is the last that we shall hear from Wilkinson as an active commander. His unfortunate fiasco led to a torrent of abuse against him from public and press, so that he was forced to ask for a court of inquiry. This court, while passing some very severe judgments upon his conduct, gave him a verdict of acquittal, but so damaging were the facts brought out against him that he was never again placed in command. It is difficult to give a correct judgment upon Wilkinson. Dr. K. C. Babcock declares that "Wilkinson was perhaps the scurviest knave who ever wore the straps of a general in the United States army,"¹ and Scott, in his memoirs, refers to him as "an unprincipled imbecile." It is certainly very unfortunate that a man who was not respected by his brother officers or his men was in command of the army at that critical period. But for a portion of his failure in this war we must lay the blame upon the incompetent Secretary of War.

New blood
on the
American
side

Without counting this little expedition into Canada, the campaign of 1814 began with the operations on the Niagara frontier. This year was certain to be a better one for American arms, because the army was no longer encumbered with Dearborn and Wilkinson and Hampton—old men. President Madison appointed two new major-generals, Jacob

¹Wilkinson was alleged to be concerned in the Aaron Burr conspiracy of 1807 and narrowly escaped indictment. His career was full of intrigue and scandal. After the war he went to Mexico and lived until his death in 1825

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THE EVENTS OF 1814

Brown and George Izard, and six new brigades, including Winfield Scott, Macomb, and Gaines. Scott and Brown were to be intimately associated in this year's fighting, and they were fighters beyond question. Brown was a Quaker by birth, and had no military training, but he had shown himself an excellent commander. Scott was a trained ^{General} soldier, destined to brilliant service in this war and in the Mexican War, and to have the supreme command in the great Civil War only when he was too old and infirm to fill it. General Izard had nothing to do with the Niagara campaign, but was ordered to succeed Wilkinson at Plattsburg. As his campaign came in the fall, we shall now follow the fortunes of the much fought-over Niagara frontier. No movement was made early in the year, as was expected. Secretary Armstrong was very anxious to attack Kingston, the real British headquarters in Upper Canada, but Chauncey, who commanded the naval forces on Lake Ontario, steadfastly refused to sanction this campaign, and in spite of its strength, or perhaps because of it, Kingston was not attacked during the entire war. Perhaps Chauncey was wise in refusing to risk battle with Yeo, ^{British} but his conservatism was constantly called coward- ^{dominate} ice; and in spite of all the money and stores put ^{Lake} into Sackett's Harbor, Lake Ontario continued to ^{Ontario} be ruled by the British without opposition—a peculiar condition of affairs, considering the strength of the American naval forces.

BROWN'S INVASION OF NIAGARA

It was evident, however, that some offensive movements must be taken by the United States, for the

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British
reinforce-
ments
coming to
Quebec

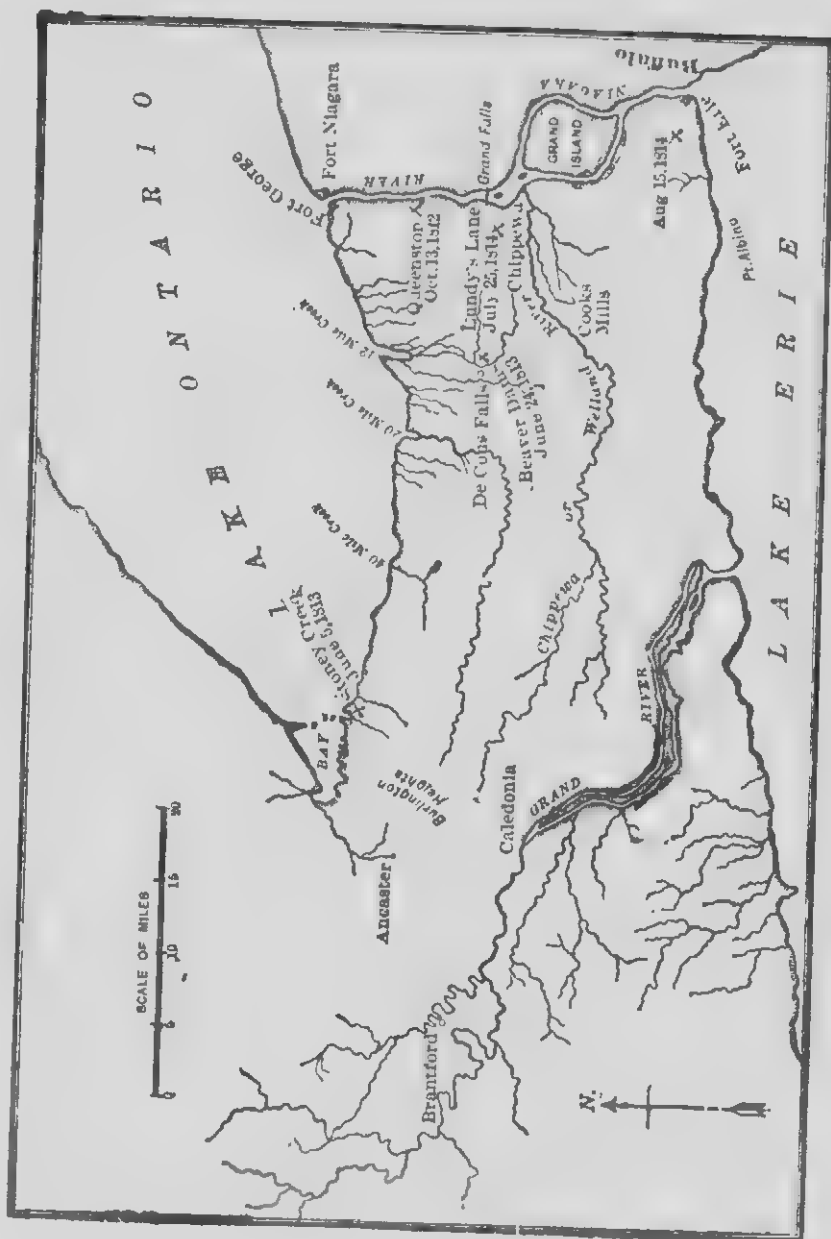
British troops in Canada were soon to be reinforced. Napoleon had been beaten and sent to Elba, and information came early in the spring that 10,000 soldiers would be sent immediately to Quebec! This meant that all the troops in Lower Canada could, without fear of crippling it, be sent in the summer to Upper Canada. In June, General Brown was in command on the east side of the Niagara River of an American force variously estimated at from 3,000 to 5,000 men. It was his intention to make a campaign against Upper Canada which should effect something definite and permanent before any help could come from abroad. So in June he laid his plans for an attack first on Fort Erie, opposite Buffalo, and then against Fort George, and later the British headquarters at Burlington Heights. It is very difficult to know precisely how many men Brown had at the beginning of this campaign. Henry Adams, who is a careful and accurate compiler of statistics, shows that Brown's army was divided into four parts, consisting of Scott's brigade, Ripley's brigade, Porter's brigade, and the artillery. Scott's brigade, according to his estimate, consisted of 2,122 men, all regulars from Massachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. Ripley's brigade was also regulars, but contained only 1,415 men, and was recruited in Massachusetts and New York. Porter's brigade was wholly militia, being 600 volunteers from Pennsylvania and some Indians. The artillery had 413 men. This gives altogether 4,780 men and a few hundred Indians; but probably not more than 3,500 men were in the army which actually invaded Canada at that time. Yet Kingsford assumes that Brown com-

Clashing
estimates
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THE EVENTS OF 1814



THE NIAGARA PENINSULA

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

manded 6,000 troops on the field. Riall, on June 22d, on the Niagara River, had about 2,000 men, besides the garrisons at York, Burlington Heights, Fort Niagara, and Fort George.

Fort Erie
easily taken
by Brown

Brown's movement against Fort Erie began on the morning of July 3d. There was very little resistance by the fort, and it surrendered at five o'clock in the afternoon; 170 prisoners were thus taken. About sixteen miles north stood the town of Chippewa, and to that point General Riall hastened from Fort George. The American army also advanced in that direction, and on the morning of July 4th the two armies were practically facing each other on both banks of a little stream called Street's Creek, about two miles south of Chippewa River. With his 3,500 men it seemed like an easy task for Brown to defeat the 2,000 of Riall's when the battle took place the next day. To Scott's great surprise, Riall advanced instead of waiting to receive the American attack. Scott, after drilling his troops, crossed the creek. He had no idea that the fight was coming so soon, until Riall's force was seen coming through the woods. Scott then advanced to meet him, and a very hot fight took place there. Riall called upon the Royal Scots and the 100th Regiment, and charged, and, as the Americans were also advancing, the two forces came into actual personal contact. This charge was a very brief, but a very famous, one, and has been compared by one British author to the charge of the Light Brigade. It was, however, disastrous for the British troops. The three American twelve-pounders, of which Towson was in command, really won the fight. By their fire the whole British line was practically r-

Scott and
Riall meet
at Street's
Creek,
July 4th

A brilliant
charge by
the British

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nihilated, and when Ripley's brigade arrived shortly after he found that Scott had won.¹ Thus this battle was not so one-sided in the numbers actually engaged as has been sometimes pictured. As a matter of fact, the 2,000 men of Riall's opposed Scott's brigade of from 1,500 to 1,800. Of course it was good tactics for Riall to attack Scott before Ripley's brigade came up, and his defeat was all the more distressing. In this charge Riall lost 515 men, not including Indians, which was about one-third of his force, while Scott lost about 297 men, not including Indians. This loss on the British side was terribly large, considering the fact that the battle lasted only about half an hour. Henry Adams says that "the battle of Chippewa was the only occasion during the war when equal bodies of regular troops met face to face on an open plain without advantage of position."

Scott's
troops win

Heavy
British
losses

THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE

AFTER the battle Riall withdrew to the north and later to Burlington, and then back to Twelve-Mile Creek, or St. Catharines. The movements of both forces for the next few days were extremely hesitating, and with good reason. Brown began to see that even after this victory the proposition of clearing up the entire peninsula was a difficult one. He asserted, and he seems to have been justified in his assertion, that he had expected help from Chauncey in either capturing or compelling the abandonment

Movements
of both
forces
extremely
hesitating

¹ This is a disputed point. British and Canadian historians assert that Scott won because reenforced. But the reports of casualties seem clearly to show that the forces in action were nearly equal.

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

of Forts Niagara and George, but Chauncey, with his usual Fabian policy, made no movement in this direction, so Brown was left to depend entirely upon the army for success. He soon learned that three or four days after the battle Riall had received considerable reinforcements, and more were coming from Kingston under Drummond. Brown had advanced to Queenston and almost to Fort George, but, fearing a trap, on July 24th he withdrew to Chippewa, and this movement led Riall to start against him from his camp at Twelve-Mile Creek. Now, according to Ripley's book, the whole strength of Brown's army was only about 2,600 effectives, while Riall, only thirteen miles away, was expecting large reinforcements to his 1,500 men.

An interesting massing of forces

The thing that chiefly bothered Brown was to find out on which side of the river the British attack was to be made. Drummond disembarked, July 25th, with his regiments at Fort Niagara (on the American side) and soon two British forces were marching south, one under Tucker on the American side toward Buffalo, the other, under Morrison, on the Canadian side toward Chippewa. But, in the afternoon, Drummond, fearing a battle at Chippewa, ordered Tucker to cross from Lewiston and at Queenston unite with Morrison's force. With about 900 men out of this force (the rest being sent back to garrison Forts George and Niagara), Drummond began his march along the Canadian side toward Lundy's Lane. It was a very perplexing moment for Brown. He did not know until late in the evening that Drummond had recalled his men from Lewiston, so about five o'clock in the afternoon he ordered General Scott to march

Brown perplexed

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toward Queenston in order to draw the British force from Lewiston. When Scott, soon after five o'clock, had crossed the Chippewa bridge and neared Lundy's Lane, he found to his surprise that he confronted an army. This was part of Riall's force, and consisted of about 1,000 men. It was awaiting reinforcements. On the approach of the Americans, Riall ordered a retreat, and was marching from the field when Drummond with his regiment arrived and countermanded the order. This is the way the battle of Lundy's Lane happened to be fought where it was. Drummond had then about 1,900 men. Twelve hundred more of Riall's force from Twelve-Mile Creek under Colonel Hercules Scott were due that evening. His batteries were located on the summit of a low hill in front of his centre, while back of him ran Lundy's Lane. The sight of this force arrayed in line of battle was all General Scott needed, and without waiting for reinforcements he immediately attacked. This attack was pressed so vigorously that before the left brigade commanded by Riall could recover itself the Americans had broken through and actually captured Riall himself, who was leaving the field severely wounded. This attack began about seven o'clock in the afternoon, then daylight, but before it ended, at nine o'clock, darkness had fallen. Scott was able, as we have said, to drive back the British left, but the centre, guarded by the artillery on the hill, and the right were too strong. Scott was certainly outnumbered. American historians assert that he had only about 1,000 men when he went into the fight, and he kept up his fighting until nine o'clock, in spite of all the efforts of the British to destroy him. Had

Scott
surprised

He attacks
vigorously

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

The lull at
nine o'clock

Drummond at this point used Riall's tactics of a charge, it would have gone very badly with Scott's little force, but Drummond acted on the defensive throughout, and was not able to defeat and drive off his assailants. There was a 'lull in the fighting about nine o'clock, and when it was resumed both sides were found to be reinforced. Perhaps the arrival of these reinforcements caused the lull; probably it was sheer exhaustion on both sides. However, the reinforcements which Drummond received, amounting to about 1,200 men, raised his potential force to about 3,000 men, while Brown probably had about 2,600.² Or, if each side had lost 400 men before nine o'clock, after that the British had in action about 2,600 and the Americans 2,200. Both American and Canadian writers have "stretched" the truth as to the number of men on each side. My estimate, I believe, is safe and as nearly accurate as may be got.

The
British
advantage

The chief advantage on the British side was the battery in front of the centre of their line on top of the hill. To win, it was absolutely essential for the Americans to capture that battery. To Colonel Miller of the 21st Regiment, General Brown, who had come up with the reinforcements and was in command, turned and asked him if he would undertake the hazardous task. Colonel Miller's reply, historic for its modesty, was: "I'll try, sir."³ The

² This is also the estimate of General Ripley, U. S. A., who wrote a book on the battle.

³ Colonel Miller was years afterward in charge of the custom-house at Salem, Massachusetts. Readers of Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter" will recall vividly his description of the old fighter, "General M."

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attempt was a desperate one, but it was successful. Americans under Colonel Miller capture the guns. It was really effected by strategy; Miller's force suddenly in the darkness emerged from the bushes immediately in front of the battery, and with a quick rush and by bayoneting the gunners captured the guns. By this manoeuvre, accompanied by a brilliant attack by another part of Ripley's brigade, the whole hilltop was held by the Americans. It was a tremendous moment. Everything in the British line was in confusion. It was ten o'clock at night, dark as pitch.⁴ The British were constantly getting mixed up with the Americans by mistake, and it took some time for them again to form in line. If Brown had been able to reinforce his men at that point the victory would have been decisive, but the capture of this hill had been a costly one. He had no reserve, his troops were in an exhausted condition, and scarcely an officer had escaped wounds. Drummond was soon able to re-form his line, and began a plucky fight to retake the hill. So close were the two lines that it is said only ten or twelve yards separated them. They could not see one another except by the flash of the musket-fire. Three times the British attempted to capture that hill, and three times were driven back. There was an interval of half an hour between these attacks, and in the mean time both forces stood tense and excited, peering into the darkness and wondering what would be the issue of the next trial of strength.

It was now eleven o'clock at night. Brown was

⁴ Another disputed point. Lucas in his "The Canadian War of 1812," accepts the version that this episode took place before the "lull," but this is impossible.

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Americans
retire near
midnight

wounded, Scott was so badly wounded that he took no part in any further campaigns in this war, and the army was in a thoroughly exhausted condition. It was at this moment that Brown determined to retire. Whether we think this was a wise movement or not, it was conducted in an orderly manner. The wounded were picked up, and in good order and without haste they returned to camp. By a blunder Ripley failed to take away the cannon when he left, much to Brown's astonishment and indignation.

A drawn
battle

This was the battle of Lundy's Lane, the most desperate engagement of the entire war. Authorities will always differ as to the result, whether a British or an American victory. Some Canadian authors describe it as a great British victory and a crushing American defeat, while in American history it is usually called either an American victory or a drawn battle. Remembering the position in which Brown was before the battle, when, threatened on both sides of the river, he was compelled to fight or retreat, we can not find in his retirement after the battle sure proof that this retreat was caused by defeat in the battle. On the contrary, it was absolutely necessary that, confronted with a superior force on the field; a force which had reserves on both sides of the river, and with still other reinforcements coming, it would have been madness for him to remain and risk another engagement. It is clear to me that, so far as fighting went, the Americans had the better of it. If the object to be gained was the capture of that hill, Americans say they captured it and three times repelled the assault of their British opponents, and they only retired of their

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own volition, and in obedience to a cautious policy. But if the object in sight was to hold the hill, the British came out ahead.

The more one consults the voluminous documents, reports, orders, diaries, and memoranda of that time, especially Colonel Cruikshank's collection of the period's official returns, the more one is amazed at the discrepancies in the stories of the battle, the movements, the number of men in each army, etc. I venture to doubt if any other battle was ever so confused. The reports of Drummond declare that the possession of the hill was wrested from the Americans and they were driven back to Fort Erie in disorder. Brown and Scott assert that the hill was relinquished to the British because of the Americans' exhaustion, the retirement was wholly voluntary and orderly, and, indeed, the British were in retreat. Neither is apparently a true story, but the action was as I have stated it.⁵ So far as the claims to victory are concerned, I fail to see that any can be recognized. Undoubtedly the Americans had the better of the fighting at midnight, but they could not hold their advantage. Indeed, I can not see how Brown with his small force could then hope to win a victory on that frontier, and it seems to me wisdom on his part to retire. Both sides fought bravely and were brilliantly led. There is no need to exaggerate either the num-

Confused
and con-
flicting
accounts of
the battle

Brown's
wisdom

⁵ The British officer Colonel Hercules Scott thus said: "In the last they gained possession of five out of seven of our guns, but the fire kept upon them was so severe that it afterward appeared they had not been able to carry them off, for we found them next morning on the spot they had been taken." This is pretty conclusive.

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bers or the advantages of either army. In all the essentials of sport or war, it seems to me that the battle of Lundy's Lane was a draw. It seems to me childish to continue to agitate this question as to the right to the claim of victory.

The
heavy
casualties

From another standpoint, that of casualties, the battle was a very even one. Brown reported a total loss of 853 men, 171 of whom were killed, while Drummond reported 84 killed and a total loss of 878. As we have seen, almost all the American generals and nearly all the other officers were wounded, and both Drummond and Riall were wounded, and the latter was taken prisoner. The mistake Brown made was in thinking that on the next day he could regain the field, after having given it up at midnight. Yet Brown did order Ripley to attempt to defeat the enemy the next morning at daybreak. This meant, of course, not only no rest for his army, but a night of re-formation. However, Ripley made the attempt and got out his 1,500 men, more or less, at nine o'clock the next morning on a reconnoitring expedition, but by this time Drummond had already advanced a mile, and Ripley soon saw that it was impossible for him to make any attempt to defeat the British. He returned, and at noon made his report to Brown. Brown seemed to assent to Ripley's plan for retiring to Fort Erie, and that evening the army reached Fort Erie and encamped there. Ripley was at this time in active command of the army, for Brown and Scott were both wounded and compelled to return to Buffalo to have their wounds dressed. But Brown was not satisfied with Ripley's actions. He was sore because Ripley had left the guns after the

Americans
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retake the
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Brown
retires to
Fort Erie

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fight and had shown such a cautious demeanor in his reconnoissance, so he had sent for Brigadier Gaines from the Sackett's Harbor army. There was considerable bad blood over this retirement from Chippew and Brown accused Ripley of cowardice, but afterward withdrew the charge. During the remainder of the month of July and for two weeks in August the American army remained at Fort Erie, fortifying and entrenching its position.

Bad
blood over
Ripley's
action

THE BRITISH BEATEN BACK FROM FORT ERIE

It will always be a mystery from a British standpoint why General Drummond did not proceed immediately against the American troops at Fort Erie, for if the battle of Lundy's Lane was such a pronounced British victory as General Drummond and some officers asserted, there was no good reason for his not pushing forward at once. There was another scheme which he might have adopted; in fact, he partially adopted it by sending troops across the river to the American side, thus threatening to destroy the American base at Buffalo, and compelling Gaines to withdraw his force to that base. For two weeks he did nothing, and when he did start a movement it resulted in failure. On the night of August 3d about 500 British troops were sent across the river to make a landing between Black Rock and Buffalo. This may have been the advance party of a large force which was to make the feint just suggested. When this force had landed, they were met by 240 men, the garrison of Black Rock, and their assault on the British was so fierce and deadly that the latter were compelled to retreat after a loss of twenty-five men. Discouraged

so Black Rock
resists the
British

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Fort Erie
had been
strengthened

by this failure as well as greatly irritated, Drummond then decided to make an assault on Fort Erie. The three weeks which had intervened between Lundy's Lane and this attack had been well employed, as we have seen, by Gaines and Ripley in completing their defense. The fort itself was of no consequence, and unable to stand any determined attack; but by constructing earthworks seven feet high and a stone wall on the left which brought that side down to the water, and by constructing a similar breastwork nearly at right angles to the first, there was a very long if not exceedingly strong line of defense to be taken before the garrison was in any danger. Drummond had by this time secured reinforcements which gave him about 3,150 rank and file, and he was therefore well qualified to attempt the assault. The attack was planned under Drummond's orders at two o'clock on the morning of August 15th. So confident was Drummond of success that he commanded his men to rely upon the bayonet instead of the rifle, and in his order for attack he said: "The enemy's force does not exceed 1,500 fit for duty," which is a singular allegation considering his high estimate of the Americans engaged at Lundy's Lane. The two figures do not agree.

Drummond
sure of
victory

The attack
at two
o'clock
in the
morning

Before the attack was made, the British siege guns which Drummond had brought forward especially for this work had been booming all day and most of the night, but about midnight the fire slackened. This was taken by the Americans to mean, as it certainly did mean, that the attack of the British infantry force was to begin soon. No better notification than this could have been made

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even if it had been sent in a polite note. The attack was made with gallantry and precision. Drummond's force advanced from the west, attacking the western face of the fort. The pickets were bayoneted or driven back just as Drummond expected them to be, but when it came to taking the breastworks, that was entirely another matter. On their approach to the wall the British met with a strong response from the cannon and muskets of the defensive forces. While this was going on, the Watteville regiment, which had recently arrived and was assigned to the British right, went too near the lake and got tangled up in the rocks so that part of them were captured and the rest were driven off ^{The right} ^{repulsed} by the Americans' fierce fire. Other British forces found the abattis impenetrable and started back. Fort Erie, as we have said, was only a part of the position to be attacked, and yet Fort Erie was the central position of : '. Here ensued the most peculiar and most disastrous feature of the entire engagement. The attack against the Douglass battery, on the extreme right, was under the leadership of Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond and Colonel Scott. ^{Colonel} ^{Scott} ^{killed} Colonel Scott, however, was killed in front of the American line, and his troops, instead of continuing against Fort Erie proper, moved over to the Douglass battery, and by their quick rush, whether by accident or in the confusion of the night found themselves in the northeast bastion of Fort Erie and took it at once, the men in charge being killed or wounded. But this capture did the British little ^{A bastion} ^{captured} good. The bastion was directly under the guns of the fort. The British could neither advance nor retreat, nor remain where they were in safety. This

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Explosion
kills 500
British

was the moment when, if Drummond had known of their situation or had been able to bring them reinforcements, the tide of the battle might have turned. Just at that point when this little body of men, numbering perhaps 500, stood in this precarious position, an accident occurred which settled the issue of the day. An ammunition chest under the platform caught fire in some way and exploded, blowing up all the troops in the bastion and bringing panic upon the other British who heard it. Drummond was defeated anyhow, for some of his men were retreating, but this explosion did the business, and his men took panic and retreated in a demoralized condition. Among those killed in the bastion was Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond. The total number of killed and wounded on the British side was 905 and the total American loss was only 84 men. This was a striking discrepancy in numbers and not altogether accounted for by the explosion, in which about 500 were killed. As a matter of fact, it was a very severe British repulse. The only success that they met in the whole affair was the almost accidental capture of the bastion which turned out to be a crowning misfortune. Drummond wrote several letters and despatched orders showing how acute was his disappointment over the result, and he immediately fell back to Chippewa. The British did bombard Fort Erie a few days after the battle, but no damage was done.

Brown
again in
command

Gaines had been wounded by one of the shells in the bombardment after the battle and was compelled to retire from the command. Brown was still suffering from his wound, but as he distrusted

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Ripley, he was compelled again to assume the command himself. Being a fighting man and seeing that Drummond was timid about any aggressive movements, he was very anxious to attack Drummond, and after a council of war the American army on September 17th moved forward against Drummond, who was then in Chippewa. Although it lasted only a few hours, the battle that took place that day was a hard-fought one. The Americans captured several British batteries, but others they were not able to take, and after repeated attempts they withdrew. This was rightly claimed by the British as their victory, inasmuch as the Americans did not succeed in their attempt to capture the British posts and the British held their place after the Americans had retired. It was also a severe loss to the Americans, because they lost three excellent commanders, Gibson, Wood and Davis, and Ripley was also desperately wounded. The Americans engaged were about 2,000 men and the British about the same number. The Americans lost 511 killed, wounded and missing, or about one-fourth of their number, and Drummond lost 609 or about one-third of his number. From another standpoint, however, that of the immediate result of the battle, it was a gain for the Americans, for Drummond soon after retired from his position and really retreated from before Fort Erie. So we may say that the net result of the campaign on the Niagara during 1814 was favorable to the Americans. With an inferior force they had gained command of Fort Erie and had prevented the British from either taking that place or carrying out their purpose of making a campaign on the American side. For

Another
battle at
Chippewa,
Sept. 17

Americans
hold their
own

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this result the aggressive stand of Brown is largely responsible.

THE GREATEST FIASCO OF THE WAR

The war
on Lake
Champlain

Conquerors
of Napo-
leon reach
Canada

THE story of the Niagara campaign of 1814 is not yet finished, but before we proceed to it we must turn to the other theatre of war, on Lake Champlain. It will be remembered that at the opening of this year Major-General Brown had been called to the command of the west and Major-General Izard of the east, Izard's headquarters being at Plattsburg and Brown's at Buffalo. The troops which Major-General Izard had on Lake Champlain consisted of about 5,000 regulars and some militia. Large as this force was, however, both Izard and Armstrong, the Secretary of War, knew that in numbers they would be no match for the troops which Great Britain could send against them. England no longer had any troubles in Europe, and part of Wellington's army which had captured Paris was on its way to Canada. In July and August the reinforcements arrived. They consisted of 16,000 men, the largest force of soldiers ever sent across the Atlantic. One brigade was sent to Kingston; the rest were to be used against Izard's little force of Americans on Lake Champlain. The story of this campaign which we are about to tell is almost unbelievable. Even with all the records before us, it can not be adequately explained. It was but one more illustration of our rule that any expedition that went either up or down Lake Champlain was doomed to defeat if any opposition was made. Lake Champlain has thus been the graveyard of reputations in North America.

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The British campaign on Lake Champlain was to be conducted in two parts; one, of course, against Izard by Prevost, the other, a naval attack. The American fleet had been created and was commanded by Lieutenant Thomas McDonough, and the British fleet was commanded by Captain Downie of the Royal Navy, who had been recommended by Sir James Yeo for the position. As if the discrepancy in the size of the two armies was not enough, fate so willed it that nearly all of that little army which Izard commanded should be removed from the path of the British invaders! In some way Secretary Armstrong got the idea that not Plattsburg but Sackett's Harbor was to be attacked by this great force of British troops from abroad, and he ordered Izard to proceed to that point. Izard protested in vain, and pointed out signs that indicated a descent upon Plattsburg by the British; but all to no avail. He was peremptorily directed to take his army at once up the St. Lawrence and there to operate against Kingston or go to Fort Erie and assist Brown. There was nothing for Izard to do but obey, and so on August 29th, leaving about 1,500 men under command of Brigadier-General Alexander Macomb at Plattsburg, Izard set out with from 3,000 to 4,000 men for Sackett's Harbor. No sooner had Izard departed from Plattsburg than the British started for that place.

Plans of the
British

Most of
Platts-
burg's
troops sent
to Sackett's
Harbor, an
American
blunder

It looks as if the only possible wisdom that could be contained in Armstrong's tactics was the scheme of saving that army from being captured by diverting it to another section of the country where the danger was not yet great. That this

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little force left at Plattsburg should not have been captured is one of the odd tricks and jokes of fate.

Prevost's
vast army
of 10,000
in line

In the first week of September the great army of invasion found its way up the Richelieu to the head of Lake Champlain, and then pushed on toward Plattsburg. The number of men in this army has been variously estimated, but probably in the line of march there were about 10,000 men, not including the reserves of about 5,000 men, who remained on Canadian soil. As to the fleet, reports vary greatly. The British authors assert that the fleet was hastily got together, that the crews were not acquainted with one another, and that Prevost forced them into the fight before they were prepared. At any rate, it was Prevost's design to make a simultaneous attack on land and water against the American force. The American fleet consisted of four vessels, the "Saratoga," the "Eagle," the "Ticonderoga," and the "Preble," besides ten gunboats. The British fleet also consisted of four vessels, the "Confiance," the "Linnet," the "Chub," and the "Finch," and twelve gunboats. The total number of guns in the British fleet was ninety, and the Americans had eighty-six. Comparison of the dimensions of the vessels is not possible, because they have not been given, but there were a great many longer guns on board the British than on board the American ships. It was long guns that had given Perry his victory on Lake Erie, and there was no reason why the same weapon should not have been triumphant on Lake Champlain. The main criticism that could be made against Captain Downie's fleet was that he "had put all of his eggs into one basket." His chief ship, the "Confiance," had

British and
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CANADA

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DOMINION POST-OFFICE BUILDING, OTTAWA, ONTARIO

THE EVENTS OF 1814

thirty-seven guns, thirty-one of which were long guns, and his next boat only contained sixteen guns. On the other hand, the "Saratoga," the "Eagle," and the "Ticonderoga" were all nearly of the same size, the "Saratoga" having twenty-six guns, the "Eagle" twenty, and the "Ticonderoga" seventeen. It will thus be seen that as between the two fleets there was little to choose. The American fleet had to be near Plattsburg in order to afford that city protection in case of attack, but it was in danger of being reached by the British batteries from on shore, a danger of which the British fleet was in no danger, because of the weakness and small number of the American batteries at Plattsburg. But while Captain Downie was an able commander and well trained, he was not a match for the American leader, Thomas McDonough was then only a lieutenant, and was but thirty years of age. He had seen service in the war with Tripoli, and possessed a large share of intelligence and common sense as well as naval knowledge.

Downie
and Mc-
Donough

The arrangements had been, as I have said, that both army and fleet were to attack simultaneously, and Prevost was to wait for the navy to come up before beginning his attack on the town. McDonough had formed his vessels in line, and anchored them in Plattsburg Bay, near Crab Island, and on the morning of the 11th of September the British fleet rounded the point, Cumberland Head, and anchored about 300 yards from the American. The "Confiance" had been fired at by the American ships as she was making her way to anchor, but as soon as she was safely in position she poured a full broadside into the "Saratoga." From a quarter past

The battle
on Lake
Champlain,
Sept. 11

THE TRICENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

Downie
killed

Mc-
Donough's
seamanship
wins the
victory

Prevost's
cowardly
retreat

eight in the morning until a quarter to eleven the battle raged. In its early moments the British suffered the loss of their commander. Captain Downie was killed in a peculiar way. A solid shot from the "Saratoga" struck one of his guns, threw it off its carriage against him, and he died in a few minutes. After two hours of fighting, however, the advantage was largely on the British side. The "Preble" was driven entirely out of the engagement, and the "Eagle" had been compelled to seek refuge behind the "Saratoga" and the "Ticonderoga," but the "Saratoga" was still standing the fire, although terribly damaged. It was then that McDonough used his sailor craft to good advantage. Such a diversion as he tried would be of no particular consequence to-day when steam vessels so easily shift about from place to place, but the operation of "winding ship," by which he was able to swing the other side of the "Saratoga" about, and thus bring into play a fresh broadside, sealed the fate of the day. The "Confiance" tried the same operation, but was unable to carry it through. In a few minutes that vessel was compelled to surrender, and the other boats followed her example. The gunboats escaped. The British assert that these gunboats fled at the beginning of the battle. At any rate, it is known that their commander was tried by court-martial for cowardice, but escaped from prison, and was never again heard from.

In the mean time, how had the battle been going on land? Prevost, with his enormous army, was to begin the land attack at the same time as the naval attack, but it is not so easy to move an army, and, while the naval battle was going on, the advance

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column, under Major-General Robinson, which had been ordered to flank the Americans and carry their works, lost its way, and by the time it got back on the road, and was ready to ford the Saranac River, the cheers of McDonough's men, victorious, were heard. Robinson at once stopped to find out what had happened, and the remainder of the army waited for him to go ahead. When he learned that the British were defeated on the water, and reported that intelligence to Prevost, the army came to a halt.

Meantime General Macomb sat behind his weak fortifications at Plattsburg rejoicing, of course, in the naval victory, but expecting at once to see the enemy appear and take his forts by storm. But he waited in vain. No enemy appeared. What had happened? Nothing, except that Lieutenant-General Prevost had turned tail and fled. As I have said before, there is no rational explanation for his retreat. It defies all attempt to account for it. Prevost asserted that it was due to the defeat of his navy. As if the shattered and broken ships under McDonough could make any serious trouble with his immense force of veterans, led by competent commanders, equipped with great guns, and large stores of ammunition and provisions! It was almost the worst fiasco in all history. When McDonough heard that Prevost had retreated, he would not believe it. From that moment Prevost's fate in Canada was sealed. His officers and their men were beside themselves with rage. Sir James Yeo wrote a letter to the admiralty, fixing the blame for Downie's defeat upon Prevost, declaring that the latter forced Downie to fight before he was prepared. The quar-

Macomb
wouldn't
believe the
British had
retreated

British
officers
and men
furious
with rage

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

rel between Yeo and Prevost resulted in the appointment of a court-martial, and ultimately in Prevost's recall.

THE NIAGARA FRONTIER QUIET

Izard's
hard luck

He arrives
at Buffalo

WE left General Izard with his 4,000 troops bound to relieve Sackett's Harbor, which he and everybody else except Armstrong at Washington knew needed no relief. By the time he reached Sackett's Harbor he saw that his services there were unnecessary, and learned that another man, Macomb, had reaped whatever credit there was for the defense of Plattsburg. So from Sackett's Harbor he went to the Niagara frontier. There he found that Brown had not waited to be reenforced at Fort Erie, but had, as we already know, himself made a sortie. So no particular glory attended Izard there. He thus fell between two stools, and the whole incident proves that in war as well as in peace there is something in luck. Izard arrived at Buffalo in September, and, being Brown's superior in rank, took charge of the army both at Buffalo and at Fort Erie. After the repulse of the American sortie by Drummond, the latter's army was encamped at Chippewa; it was not in first-class condition at this time, and was almost in a demoralized state. Provisions had been very scarce throughout the year, desertions were frequent, and the commander was meditating retiring to Burlington Heights or York. On account of the proximity of Drummond's army, and his own desire to gain some renown out of all this fighting, Izard started out on October 13th to engage Drummond's army at Chippewa. But three days later, on the news that Chauncey would not co-

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THE EVENTS OF 1814

operate, he abandoned the expedition without a fight and returned to Fort Erie. A short time later, or on November 5th, he blew up Fort Erie and retired for winter quarters to Buffalo. Thus at the close of the campaign of 1814 the Americans held no Canadian post except the one at Amherstburg, where there had been no hostilities* for almost two years. This ends the story of the fighting in Canada.

Americans
again
abandon
the Niagara

THE WAR'S FINALE

As the reader has observed, it has been my intention to deal only with those events of the War of 1812 in which Canada had a vital interest. It is therefore not within my province to describe the campaign in 1814 which the British made against the Atlantic seaboard, particularly Washington and Baltimore.

The
burning
of Wash-
ington

Furthermore, the story of the wanton destruction of the Capitol and the White House by British troops is not one that can be told fairly and interestingly unless at considerable length. So for those two reasons it is not given here. The affair was not creditable either to the Americans or to the British. But one figure appears in that Washington campaign which we will recognize. Winder, who was himself so incompetent at Stoney Creek, gave another exhibition of the same quality in his alleged defense of Washington. The attack on Baltimore, as we all know, was a failure, resulting in the death of General Ross, the British commander. Its only other result was the composition of the American national air, "The Star-Spangled Banner," which was written by Francis Scott Key

THE TERCENTENARY HISTORY OF CANADA

during the time of the bombardment of Fort Henry at Baltimore.

Great
British
reinforce-
ments, but
all in vain

So also it is not necessary for us to describe in any detail the various naval conflicts in 1814, and the failure of the British expedition against New Orleans under General Pakenham, which was defeated by General Jackson in January, 1815. All through the fall and winter of 1814-15 reinforcements poured into Canada from Great Britain until there were 27,000 British regulars and an immense ordnance at Kingston, ready to make the long contemplated attack on Sackett's Harbor, with its naval station and army stores, when navigation should open in the spring. But as we are all well aware, this despatch of troops was useless. The treaty of peace was signed while some of them were on the way.



CANADA

Port Henry

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